THE KUSHĀṆAS
AND
THE DECCAN

4025

B. N. MUKHERJEE

954·01
M 4025 K

954·01
M K

STATE MUSEUM, LUCKNOW
LIBRARY
Acc. No. 4025
Book No. 954.01
M K

THE KUSHĀṆAS AND THE DECCAN

PART ONE

KANISHKA I
AND
THE DECCAN

(A STUDY IN THE PROBLEM OF RELATIONSHIP)

B. N. MUKHERJEE
M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.), F.S.A. (Lond.)

PILGRIM PUBLISHERS
18B/1B TAMER LANE
CALCUTTA-9

Published by
B. N. Das Gupta,
Pilgrim Publishers,
18B/1B, Tamer Lane, Calcutta-9.

954.01
M K

C
1968

State Museum Library
4025
Lucknow

Price : Rs. 20·00

Printed by
C. Sen,
P. B. Press,
32E Sarat Bose Road, Calcutta-20

TO

PROF. S. K. SARASWATI

MY MENTOR

PREFACE

This book is a study of an important aspect of the problem of relationship between the Imperial Kushāṇas and the Deccan. It critically evaluates the data which have been interpreted as indicating the rule of Kanishka I over a large portion of the peninsular India. Incidentally it also examines the possibility of any connection of the Kushāṇa monarchs preceding Kanishka I with that territory. The other part of the problem, relating to the question of association of the successors of Kanishka I with the Deccan, will be discussed in near future in a separate volume. As a bibliography, relevant to the whole subject, will be furnished at the end of that volume, we have refrained from publishing a separate bibliography in the present one. Nevertheless, full references to the sources discussed in this text are given in the notes printed at the end of each chapter.

In spelling of proper names, we have tried to follow, with a few necessary exceptions, conventional forms. For example, the name of the son of the Kushāṇa king Kujula is written as V'ima Kadphises and not as V'ima Kaṭhphiśa. *San*, appearing on Kushāṇa coins, has been transcribed as *sha*. The sound signified by *san* is known to have been expressed by the letter *sha* in Indian sources. No diacritical mark has been used, with a few exceptions, in modern proper names, including geographical. The term *India* denotes, unless otherwise indicated, the Indian subcontinent comprising the territories of Indian Republic and Pakistan.

In course of my research I have received valuable advices and suggestions from Dr. R. G. Basak, Prof. S K. Saraswati, Prof. A. L. Basham, Prof. H. W. Bailey, Prof. E. J. Pulleyblank, Dr. S. K. Mitra, Dr. S. R. Banerjee and Dr. K. K Das Gupta. Translations of relevant passages from Chinese have been done by Mr. I. Legaza, from Greek and Latin by W. Metzler, from Tibetan by Mr. B. Mukherjee and from Arabic and Persian by Mr. A. Khallaque. I owe a debt of gratitude to each of them.

The manuscript has been carefully typed out and made ready for press by Mr. S. K. Mukherjee. I have been assisted in various other ways by Messrs. D. N. Das, S. Chowdhury, D P. Gupta, R. Chatterjee, D. Dutta, S. N. Dey, N. Dey and A. Bhattacharyya. The jacket and the map have been drawn by Mr. D. Roy. Mr. C. Sen of the P. B. Press has seen the book through the press. The index has been prepared by Miss. B. Saraswati. I am grateful to each of them for taking personal care in course of the preparation and printing.

In spite of our best efforts some printing mistakes have crept in (see the Corrigenda). For this I crave indulgence of readers.

Calcutta, B. N. Mukherjee
November, 1968.

CONTENTS

PREFACE . . . v

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION . . 1

NOTES . . . 9

CHAPTER II

LÉVI'S THEORY . , 17

NOTES . . . 42

CHAPTER III

THE KANISHKA-SĀTAVĀHANA LEGEND 63

NOTES . . . 79

CHAPTER IV

EPILOGUE . . . 100

NOTES . . . 110

APPENDIX I

KUSHĀṆA GENEALOGICAL TABLE 119

NOTES . . . 120

APPENDIX II

THE DATE OF THE *PERIPLOUS TES ERYTHRAS THALASSES* . 123

NOTES . . . 125

APPENDIX III

THE DATE OF THE *GEOGRAPHIKE HUPHEGESIS* OF PTOLEMY . 128

NOTES . . . 130

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS . . 133

INDEX 145

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA . 161

MAP . . . . at the end

KANISHKA I AND THE DECCAN

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A

Like that of many dynasts of yore, the apparent political importance of the Imperial Kushāṇas,[1] alluded to in epigraphic, numismatic and literary sources,[2] is not matched by detailed information on the history of their territorial expansion. Hence any citation of an unnoticed datum or an attempt to evalute known sources pertaining to Kushāṇa hegemony is always welcome to Orientalists. From this point of view, Sylvain Lévi's paper 'Kaniṣka et Śātavāhana', published posthumously in the *Journal Asiatique*,[3] forms a landmark in the study of Kushāṇa history.

Lévi attempted to demostrate with the help of various data that the Kushāṇa monarch Kanishka (I)[4] exercised personal authority over a great part of the Deccan.[5] Though several earlier[6] and later[7] scholars expressed or indicated their faith in a similar theory, none of them tried to substantiate it with the seriousness displayed by Lévi. This theory hinges to a large extent on his data and arguments.

As there is no gainsaying the importance of the Imperial Kushāṇas in oriental history, one should appraise critically Lévi's reasonings and also the arguments of other scholars in favour of this view. For the same reason it is also necessary to scrutinise the data which have been considered as suggesting the rule of other Kushāṇa sovereigns in the Deccan.[8] We intend to discuss in a seperate volume the question of relationship between Kanishka I's successors and the peninsular India. In the present treatise we shall review the problem concerning the hold of Kanishka I (and his predecessors) over the Deccan. Such a review is a *sine qua non* for a proper understanding of the trends in the expansion of the Kushāṇa power in India.

B

Before proceeding further we must, however, define the limits of the Deccan. The name 'Deccan' is a corruption of the word *Dakshiṇa*[9] or *Dakshṇā* meaning, *inter alia*, 'south' as well as 'right'[10]. The expression *Dakshiṇā-diś* probably denotes a southern region[11] in a section of the *Atharva Veda*,[12] but its limits are not indicated.

A rough idea of the relative geographical position of *Dakshiṇa* is provided by the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. It refers to the *Dhruvā-Madhyamā-Pratishṭhā-diś*, the *Prāchī-diś*, the *Pratīchī-diś*, the *Dakshiṇā-diś* and the *Udīchī-diś*[13]. *Dakshiṇā-diś*, mentioned along with the Middle, Eastern, Western and Northern quarters, should denote the Southern region situated apparently to the south of the Middle or Central zone.[14]

The *Manu-smṛiti*, probably a work of the period between c. 200 B.C. and A.D. 200,[15] indicates the Vindhya Mountain as the southern boundary of the Madhyadeśa.[16] As it has been demonstrated by H. C. Ray

Chaudhuri, the name *Vindhya* was loosely applied in early Indian sources to the whole chain of hills from Gujarat to the Gaya district, lying (partly) on both sides of the Narmadā.[17] This suggests the latter range of hills or a part of it as the northern limit of the Southern zone.[18]

This inference is substantiated by the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, parts of which may be dated to the early centuries of the Christian Era (or even to an earlier age ?).[19] It refers to a region called *Dākshiṇātya*,[20] the name literally meaning '(the area) pertaining or belonging to the south,'[21] and states that the style of *Dākshiṇātya* or '(the region) pertaining or belonging to the south' was followed in 'countries' between the Southern sea and the Vindhya.[22] Apparently the same, or substantially the same, territory was included by the identical text in Dakshiṇāpatha where it locates the Mahendra (the chain of hills from Ganjam to Tinnevelly),[23] Malaya (the range of hills from the region of the Nilgiris to the Cape Comorin with the exception of the most southerly spurs of the Travancore hills)[24], Sahya (the Western Ghats from the Tāptī to the Nilgiris),[25] Palamañjara and Mekala (the Maikal range, a part of the Central Vindhyas, in M.P.)[26]

The expression *Dakshiṇāpatha* literally means 'the way to the South.' This may have been its original meaning or at least one of the earliest connotations. However, in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and also in several other sources the term has been used, as it appears from the contexts, to denote the Southern region of India. Probably in that zone was included at least a part of the way which originally led from somewhere in Northern India to the southernmost settlements in the early days of Aryan expansion in peninsular India, long before Christ.[27]

The *Mahābhārata*, compiled between c. 400 B.C. and A.D. 400,[28] locates Dakshiṇāpatha apparently to the south of the land of the Vidarbhas and of the Kosalas.[29] The Vidarbhas probably occupied the modern Berar region,[30] and Kosala should be identified as Southern Kosala comprising probably the area now included in the Sambalpur-Bilaspur-Raipur tract.[31] As hills lying across these territories may be considered as associated with the Vindhyan range,[32] the information of the *Mahābhārata* does not contradict the sources suggesting the Vindhya as northern boundary of Dakshiṇāpatha.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* may perhaps indicate another definition of its northern limits. As noted above, the Mekala, mentioned in this text as situated in Dakshiṇāpatha, has been identified with the Maikal range, associated with the Central Vindhyas. It is the source of the river Narmadā, also called Mekala-sutā.[33] This river, which flows between the Vindhyan spurs and across the uppermost parts of peninsular India until it falls into the Gulf of Cambay,[34] may well have been considered simultaneously with, as well as in addition to, the Vindhya as forming the northern limits of the Southern country. Dakshiṇāpatha,[35] mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana (composed perhaps sometime between c. 150 B.C. and A.D. 400),[36] was indeed described by its commentator, though of a much later period, as lying to the south of the Narmadā.[37] The same limit is also indicated by such early mediaeval sources like the Kaira grant and the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*. The first locates Dakshiṇāpatha between the Setu (i.e. the Adam's bridge)[38] and the Narmadā.[39] According to the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, Dakshiṇāpatha stretched after (i.e. to the south of) Māhishmatī,[40] identifiable with either Mandhata or Maheshwar on the Narmadā.[41]

It should, however, be noted here that the Narmadā, which rises in the Maikal range in M.P., does not flow to the east,[42] and we should also take into account that though an inscription of Maukhari Ananta-varman, found in the Nagarjuni hill in the Gaya district, applies the name *Vindhya* to that hill,[43] no early Indian source extends the boundary of Dakshiṇadeśa or Dakshiṇāpatha to that area. Hence our idea of the north-eastern limits of Dakshiṇāpatha of early Indian sources is not very clear. In fact, Kosala, probably Dakshiṇa Kosala or the modern Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur area, is placed above Dakshiṇāpatha by a *śloka* of the *Mahābhārata*,[44] and in Dakshiṇāpatha by the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (4th century A.D.).[45] Similarly, the Kaliṅgas, who occupied, in the early centuries of the Christian Era, parts of coastal Orissa and littoral Andhra Pradesh up to the Godāvarī,[46] were described as a people of Dakshiṇāpatha in one section and as that of the Eastern region in another section of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*.[47] Certain manuscripts of the *Matsya Purāṇa* locate the habitat of the Kaliṅgas in Madhyadeśa or the Middle country and also in Dakshiṇāpatha.[48]

The inclusion of Kaliṅga in Southern region is also indicated by the *Nāṭyaśāstra's* description of the Mahendra Mountain, i.e. the Eastern Ghats from Ganjam to Tinnevelley, as situated in Dakshiṇāpatha.[49] The dominions of some of the kings of Dakshiṇāpatha, mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription,[50] may be located in the territory once included in Kaliṅga and now situated in parts of coastal Orissa and littoral Andhra Pradesh.[51]

This information on Kaliṅga's relation with Southern, Central and Eastern zones strongly indicates that at least the regions of coastal peninsular India to the south of Kaliṅga was always regarded as a Southern territory. As noted above, Kaliṅga of the early centuries of the Christian Era may have stretched down to the Godāvarī.

It appears that within the north-eastern boundary of Dakshiṇāpatha of this period lay parts of south-eastern M.P. and inland Orissa as well as coastal Orissa or at least littoral peninsular India to the south of the Godāvarī. Other sections of the northern limits were demarcated by the Vindhya, or/and also perhaps by the Narmadā.

This definition, however, does not necessarily mean that no area above the Vindhyas was ever described as a southern territory. A *Jātaka* story indeed refers to one Avanti as situated in Dakkhiṇāpatha (i.e. Dakshiṇāpatha).[52] However, this Avanti may have been different from Avanti in Malwa,[53] and may perhaps be identified with

Avantī-Dakkhiṇāpatha (i.e. Avanti-Dakshiṇāpatha), mentioned in another *Jātaka*[54] and located probably somewhere in the direction of the south of Avanti of Malwa.[55]

It is also possible that these *Jātaka* stories allude to an age before Christ when the southernmost Aryan settlements did not expand beyond or much to the south of Avanti (in Malwa), or at least when the northern limits of Dakshiṇāpatha were not yet specified.[56]

We can also suggest that some political reason may have been responsible for the (temporary) extension of the the name of Southern zone (*Dakshiṇāpatha*) to the Malwa region, if it included Avanti in question. In fact, epigraphic sources demonstrate that the Sātavāhanas, three of whom have been described in three different inscriptions as lords of Dakshiṇāpatha (Dakhiṇāpaṭha and Dakhiṇāpatha in Prakrit),[57] extended their authority to Malwa at least once[58] or perhaps twice.[59] Such territorial aggrandisements of Southern powers may have resulted in temporary expansions of the connotation of the name *Dakshiṇāpatha.*[60]

Testimonies of such a nature thus do not invalidate the above hypothesis about the northern limits of Dakshiṇāpatha in the early centuries of the Christian Era.

Dakshiṇāpatha of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* extended, as noted above, from the Vindhya to the Dakshiṇasamudra.[61] The latter expression, meaning the 'Southern sea,' probably denotes the Indian Ocean. This inclusion of the southernmost parts of India in

Dakshiṇāpatha is also directly or indirectly suggested by some early mediaeval sources.[62]

However, the *Periplous Tes Erythras Thalasses* (better known as the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*), a work of the 1st century A.D.,[63] differentiates Dakhinabades, i.e. Dakshiṇāpatha,[64] from Limurike,[65] the name of which is emended as *Dimurike*,[66] meaning Draviḍaka or the Draviḍa country.[67] Of the localities of Dakhinabades mentioned in the *Periplus*' narration of India's western sea-board, the two southernmost ones apparently were Khersonesos and Leuke nesos.[68] The Karwar Point in North Kanara represents the Khersonesos,[69] and the modern Pigeon island may be identified with Leuke nesos (or White island).[70] The *Periplus* describes Naura and Tyndis as the first market towns of Limurike (i.e. Dimurike)[71] or the Draviḍa country. Naura is identified with modern Cannanore[72] and Tyndis with modern Thondi near Quilandi in Malabar.[73] These identifications suggest that the southern boundary of Dakhinabades-Dakshiṇāpatha should be placed along a line across *inter alia* Southern Mysore and the territories to its east. It has been claimed by some scholars that certain epic passages also indicate the exclusion of Far South from Dakshiṇāpatha.[74]

Thus in the early centuries of the Christian Era, which practically covered the period of the Kushāṇa hegemony, the geographical names *Dakshiṇa*, *Dakshiṇāpatha* and *Dākshiṇātya* espicially denoted the area limited on the north by *inter alia* the Vindhyas or the Narmadā and on the south by *inter alia* a line accross modern Mysore and the territories to its east. The area was apparently bounded by the Bay of Bengal on the east and by the Arabian Sea on the west.[75]

This definition of the term *Dakshiṇa* finds echo in one of the modern connotations of the word 'Deccan' (<*Dakshiṇa*). Though geographically the name 'Deccan' often denotes the whole of peninsular India,[76] it is also used to mean only a part of the latter region lying upwards from Mysore[77] and southwards from the Vindhyas[78] or the Narmadā[79] or the line of the Satpura hills.[80]

Within a territory so specified are included Southern Gujarat, Mahārāshṭra, parts or whole of Mysore, Andhra Pradesh, parts of Southern M. P., and portions of inland as well as coastal Orissa. Our enquiries in the following chapters will be confined to the activities of the Kushāṇas in this Dakshiṇa-Deccan.

NOTES

1. By the term 'Imperial Kushāṇas' we denote the rulers belonging to the groups of Kadphises I and Kanishka I. We have suggested later in this volume and also elsewhere that members of both these groups belonged to the same family. See Appendix I; and B. N. Mukherjee, *Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, chapter II (in the press).
2. For references to these sources, see *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1892, 3rd series, vol. XII, pp. 40-82 and 98-159; *Bégram*, pp. 118 ff; *JA*, 1958, vol. CCXLVI, pp 386 ff and 422 ff; B. N. Puri, *India Under the Kushāṇas*, pp. 229 ff; etc.
3. *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII pp. 61 ff.
4. We should record here that Lévi did not describe the

first Kushāṇa king bearing the name *Kanishka* as Kanishka I. We are doing so here in order to distinguish him from two other Kushāṇa rulers of the same name (see *Summary of Papers, XXVI International Congress of Orientalists*, 1964 p. 171).

5. *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, pp. 61 92.
6. E J. Rapson (*CCADWK*, pp. CV–CVII) ; D. R. Bhandarkar (*IA*, 1918, vol. XLVII, p 153) ; S. Konow (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. LXIX-LXX ; *Journal of Indian History*, 1936, vol. XII, pp. 40-45) ; etc.
7. A. Banerjee-Sastri (*IHQ*, 1937, vol. XIII, pp 211-217) ; R. Ghirshman (*Bégram*, p. 145) ; D. C. Sircar (*AIU*, p. 179) ; F. W. Thomas (*NIA* 1944, vol VII, pp. 95 96) ; O. Maenchen-Helfen (*JAOS*, 1945, vol. LXV, p. 80, f. n. 110) ; J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw (*The "Scythian" Period*, p. 384) ; J. N. Banerjea (*Com. His Ind*, vol. II. pp. 237 and 274) ; etc.
8. See the data and theories put forward by E. J. Rapson (*CCADWK*, pp. cv-cvii and cxii) ; R. D. Banerji (*IA*, 1908, vol. XXXVII, p. 60) ; G. Bühler (*Ibid*, 1913 vol. XLII, pp. 189-190) ; D. R. Bhandarkar (*Ibid*, 1918, vol. XLVII, p. 76) ; V. A. Smith (*EHI*, 4th edition, p. 222) ; K. A, Nilakanta Sastri (*JRAS*, 1926, p. 661) ; S. Konow (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. XXVI-XXVII and LXVII-LXX) ; R. Ghirshman (*Bégram*, p. 135) ; G. V. Rao (*EHDY*, vol. I, p. 128) ; B. N. Puri (*Op. cit.*, pp. 22-23) ; etc.
9. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XI, p. 205.
10. M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (reprint. 1951), pp 465 466.
11. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith observed that the expression *Dakshiṇā padā* occurring in the *Ṛig Veda*, x, 61, 8, should mean 'with southward foot' (A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, vol. I, p. 337). But, in fact, the word *dakshiṇā*

is mentioned in the relevant *śloka* in the phrase *saratpadā na dakshiṇā parāvṛiṅ* (x, 61, 8), and it does not necessarily mean 'southward'.

12. *Atharva Veda*, XIX, 17, 3.
13. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 3, 14.
14. See also H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities* (2nd edition.), p. 59.
15. *AIU*, p 255.
16. *Manu-smṛiti*, II, 21.
17. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, *Op. cit*, pp, 113-114,
18. Madhyadeśa is placed between the Himavat and the Pāripātra in the *Saundarananda-kāvya* of Aśvaghosha (II, 62), composed in or about the age of Kanishka (I) (M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. I, p 513 ; *AIU*, pp. 147 and 265). H. C. Ray Chaudhuri has convincingly argued that the Pāripātra mountain should be identified with the portion of the modern Vindhyas to the west of Bhopal, together with the Aravalli hills (H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, *Op. cit*, pp. 114-115). Such an identification supports our interpretation of the evidence of the *Manu-smṛiti*.

    According to some Buddhist texts, including the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* the river Salalavatī and the town Setakaṇṇika were respectively on the south-eastern and eastern limits of the Majjhimadeśa or the Middle country (*Mahāvagga*, v, 13, 12). The *Divyāvadāna* locates the town Sarāvatī to the immediate south of the Middle country and places a river, called Sarāvatī, to the east of that town (*Divyāvadāna*, I ; E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil (editors), *The Divyāvadāna*, p. 21).

    See also *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 86-87.
19. M. Ramakrishna Kavi (editor), *Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata Muni* (Gaekawad's Oriental Series, no. XXXVI, 2nd edition), p. 14 ; L. Renou and J. Filliozat, *L'Inde Classique*, vol. II, pp. 118-119 ; M. Ghosh, *The*

Nāṭyaśāstra, A Treatise on Hindu Dramaturgy and Histrionics ascribed to Bharata Muni, vol. I, pp. LXXXI f.

20. *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Gaekawad's Oriental Series), XIII, 54.
21. M. Monier-Williams, *Op. cit.*, p. 475 ; Pāṇini, *Ashṭādhyāyī*, iv, 2, 98. It is not certain whether Pāṇini meant 'south' by the word *dakshiṇā* in the *sūtra dakshiṇā-paśchāt-purastyak* (iv, 2, 98).
22. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, (Gaedkawad's Oriental Series), XIII, 41.
23. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, *Op. cit.*, p. 99.
24. *Ibid*, p. 101 ; F. E. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (translation), p. 285, f. n.
25. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, *Op cit.*, p. 102.
26. See also *Ibid.*, p. 118. Dakshiṇāpatha is mentioned together with Surāshṭra in the *Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra*, I,I,2,14.
27. It may be suggested that southernmost Aryan settlements were once on the Godāvarī, to which was stretched 'the way to the South' leading from the North. In this connection see the *Pārāyaṇa-vagga*, I, 1 and 2 of the *Sutta-nipāta* ; B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 60 ; H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, *Op. cit.*, pp. 60f ; G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, vol. I, p. 1051 ; etc.
28. M. Winternitz, *Op. cit.*, pp. 454-475.
29. *Mahābhārata*, III, 61, 23.
30. *EHDY*, p. 24.
31. *SI*, p. 257, f. n. 1.
32. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XXVI, pl 41 ; H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, *Op. cit.*, pp. 60f ; etc.
33. *Ibid.*; *PHAI*, p. 129 ; S. Konow (editor), *Rāja-śekhara's Karpūra-mañjarī*, p. 182.
34. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XXVI, pl. 39 and 41.
35. *Kāmasūtra*, III, 3, 3.
36. H. C. Chakladar, *Social Life in Ancient India* (2nd edition), pp. 1-27.

37. *Kāmasūtra*, II, 5, 28, commentary. (G. D. Shastri (editor), *The Kāmasūtra by Vātsyāyana Muni*, Kāshi Sanskrit Series, no. 29, 1929, p. 112). It should be noted here that the *Kāmasūtra*, III, 3, 3, refers to Dakshiṇāpatha, and the *Kāmasūtra*, II, 5, 28, speaks of the Andhras. The commentator Yaśodhara included this people in Dakshiṇāpatha and explained the latter as the country to the south of the Narmadā.
38. *IA*, 1878, vol. VII, p. 245; N. L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 184.
39 *IA*, 1878, vol. VII, p. 244.
40. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, ch. XV; C. D. Dalal and R. A. Sastry (editors), *Kāvyamīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara* (Gaekawad's Oriental Series, no. I, 3rd edition), p. 93.
41 *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 443 f; H. D. Sankalia, *The Excavations at Maheswar and Navdatoli, 1952-53*, pp. 4-15.
42. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XXVI, pl. 41.
43. *CII*, vol. III, pp. 27-28.
44. *Mahābhārata*, III, 61, 23.
45. *CII*, vol. III, p. 7.
46. *J. N Banerjea Volume*, p. 223, f. n. 23.
47. *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Gaekawad's Oriental Series), XIII, 40 and 45.
48. *Matsya Purāṇa* (Vangavasi edition), ch. 114, vv. 36 and 47; (*Bibliotheca Indica Series*, Asiatic Society of Bengal), ch. 113, vv. 36 and 47.
49. *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Gaekawad's Oriental Series), XIII, 39.
50. *CII*, vol. III, p. 7.
51 *SI*, p. 257, f. n. 1. It may be noted here that the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* includes Tosala of Amitatosala (nos. 22 and 23) and Kaliṅgavana of Śroṇāparānta (nos. 26 and 27) in Dakshiṇāpatha (P. L. Vaidya (editor), *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, Mithila Research Institute, Buddhist Text Series, no. 50, pp. 136 and 147). Tosala, as it is well-known, formed a part of ancient Kaliṅga. The word

Kaliṅgavana, cited as the name of a city, literally means 'the forest of Kaliṅga', and may have denoted a place situated in or near Kaliṅga.

52. V. Fausboll *The Jataka*, vol. v, p. 133 ; E B. Cowell, *The Jataka*, vol. v, p. 71 ; H. T. Seth, *Pāia-sadda-mahāṇṇavo*, 2nd edition, Prakṛit Text Society, vol. vII, p. 435.

53. *BG*, vol I, pt. I, p. 36, f. n. 1 ; *CCADWK*, p. xxxIII

54. V. Fausboll, *Op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 463 ; E. B. Cowell, *Op. cit*, vol. III, p. 277.

55. The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* of Buddhaghosha, probably a work of early 5th century A. D. (M. Winternitz, *Op. cit*, vol. II, pp. 610-611), describes *Dakkhiṇajanapada* as *Dakkhiṇāpatho ti pākaṭaṁ Gaṅgāya dakkhiṇato pākaṭa janapada* (*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*. III 1, 23, Pali Text Society edition, vol. I, p. 162). Some scholars are apparently inclined to interpret this passage as suggesting the location of Dakkhiṇāpatha or Dakshiṇāpatha to the immediate (?) south of the Ganges (G. P. Malalasekera, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 1050 ; B. C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 14). But the passage in question may also indicate that Dakkhiṇāpatha was in the direction of the south from (and not to the immediate south of) the Ganges.

Such an interpretation is supported by a statement of Fa-hsien, who was in India in early 5th century A.D. (J. Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, p. 9, and f. n. 2) and was perhaps a contemporary of Buddhaghosha (M. Winternitz, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 610). Fa-hsien described Dakshiṇa as 200 *yojanas* away to the south of Kauśāmbī (or of a monastery situated 8 *yojanas* to the east of that locality ?) (*Fo-Kuo chi*, ch. xxxIv and xxxv—according to the divisions adopted by A. Rémusat and J. Legge ; J. Legge, *Op. cit.*, p. 96). Kauśāmbī, identified with modern Kosam in the

Allahabad district (S. N. Majumdar-Sastri (editor), *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India*, p. 451), was situated not far from the Ganges. So Fa-hsien's Dakshiṇa was not to the immediate south of the Ganges.

56. See also above n. 27 and below n. 60.
57. *ASWI*, vol. v, p. 60 ; *EI*, vol. VIII, pp. 44 and 60 ; *SI*, pp. 189 and 199 ; H. T. Seth. *Op. cit.*, p. 453.
58. *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 60.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
60. We may here draw attention to a section of the *Mahāvastu*, a treatise considered to have been composed and enlarged between 3rd or 2nd century B. C. and 4th century A. D. or still later (R. G. Basak, (editor), *Mahāvastu Avadāna* vol. I, p. XVI). The relevant portion of this text states that "in the Southern country there was a Brahmin youth, (who was) a son of a wealthy Brahmīn of Ujjenī...(*Dakshiṇāpathe aparo Brāhmaṇakumāro Ujjenīyaṁ Brāhmaṇamahāśālasya putro...*, sec. 30). It is not certain whether this statement indicates the inclusion of Ujjenī, i.e. modern Ujjain of Malwa, in Dakshiṇāpatha. If the passage can be so interpreted, it may allude to an age when the northern boundary of Southern country was yet to be determined, or to a period marking the intrusion of a power of Dakshiṇāpatha (Sātavāhanas ?) into Malwa.
61. *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series). XIII, 41. The *Petavatthu* Commentary includes the Damiḷa (i.e. Draviḍa) country in Dakkhiṅāpatha (i.e. Dakshiṇāpatha) (*Petavatthu Commentary*, Pali Text Society edition, p. 133 ; G. P. Malalasekera, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 1051).
62. *IA*, 1878, vol. VII, p. 245 ; *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, ch. XV ; C. D. Dalal and R. A. Sastry (editors) *Op. cit.*, p. 93.
63. Schoff, *Periplus*, pp. 7-15. See also Appendix II.
64. Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 195.
65. *Periplus*, sec. 53.

66. Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 205.
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Periplus*, sec. 53.
69. Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 202.
70. *Ibid*. p. 203.
71. *Periplus*, sec. 53.
72. Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 204.
73. V. Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* (2nd edition), p. 18.
74. *Rāmāaynṇa*, II, 10, 37 ; *Mahābhārata*, II, 31, 16 f ; *EHDY*, p. 2.
75. For different opinions on the evolution of the connotation of the terms *Dakshiṇāpatha, Dākshiṇātya*, 'Deccan', etc., see *EHI* (4th edition), p. 439 ; G. P. Malalasekera, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 1050-1051 ; *PHAI*, p. 85 ; D. C. Sircar. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, p. 1 ; B. C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 14 ; *EHDY*, pp. 1-2 ; A. L. Awasthi, *Prachīna Bhārata Kā Bhaugalika Svarūpa*, pp. 54-57 ; etc.
76. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XI, p. 205 ; L. Dudley Stamp, *India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma* (reprint, 9th edition), p. 342.
77. L. Dudley Stamp, *Op. cit.*, p. 342. According to other modern notions, the southern boundary lies along the course of the Kṛishṇā or along that river and the Tuṅgabhadrā (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XI, p. 205 ; *EHDY*, p. 1).
78. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XI, p. 205.
79. *Ibid.*
80. L. Dudley Stamp, *Op. cit.*, p. 342. We may note here that the geological name 'Deccan trap' is applied *inter alia* to large areas of Cutch, Kathiawad, etc. (D. N. Wadia, *Geology of India*, 3rd edition, revised in 1961, pp. 292 ff) which are outside the limits of the area denoted by the geographical term 'Deccan'.

CHAPTER II

LÉVI'S THEORY

A

As noted above, S. Lévi suggested that certain sources should indicate Kanishka(I)'s hold over a large area of the Deccan.[1]

Lévi drew attention to a section (No. 52) in the *Periplus*. The passage in question, which speaks of market towns after Barygaza, may be translated as follows :

'The local market towns (are) in the following order : Akabarous (*sic*) (Akabaros ?), Ouppara (i.e. Souppara or Sopara)[2] and Kalliena town, which in the time of elder Saraganes (or Saraganos) (Saraganus) had become a lawful market town. After (that) since (the period when) Sandanes himself took possession of it, it was much obstructed . And Greek vessels, which may come to this place by chance, are brought to Barygaza under guard.'[3]

Lévi took this Sandanes as the master of Barygaza or modern Broach[4] and of Kalliena or the Kalyan region of littoral Konkan.[5] He conquered, according to Lévi, the latter area from Saraganes, identifiable with a person called Sātakarṇi—a name shared by several Sātavāhana kings.[6] Lévi wanted to connect the name of Sandanes with that of a region which in Ptolemy's *Geographike Huphegesis* (better known as *Geography*) denoted a great part of Western Deccan, starting from Sopara, a place situated near Bombay and not far from Kalyan.[7] In the Latin versions of the *Geography* the name in question appears as Ariacha or Arica Sandanorum or Sadanorum.[8] According to Lévi, the form *Sandanorum* is 'in complete identity' with that of Sandanes of the *Periplus*. And if this is so, Sandanes was the master of a great part of the Deccan.[9]

Lévi then turned to certain Chinese texts. He drew attention to the term *chen-t'an* appearing before the name of Chia-ni-cha, i.e. Kanishka (I),[9a] in the *Ta chuang-yen lun ching*, which he took to be a Chinese translation of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra* by Aśvaghosha. The translation was done by Kumārajīva in c. A.D. 405.[10] The term *chan-t'an* accompanied the name of Chi-ni-cha, i.e. Kanishka (I),[10a] in the *Fu fa-tsang yin yüan chuan*[11] and also in two stories occurring in the *Tsa pao-tsang ching*.[11a] Both these works are Chinese translations done by Chi-chia-yeh and T'an-yao in c. A.D. 472.[12] Seng-chao, a disciple of Kumārajīva, referred in his *Wei-mo-chie suo shuo ching chu* to the 'king of the Yüeh-chih' in place of the *chen-t'an* of Kumārajīva.[13]

Lévi demonstrated that *chen-t'an* and *chan-t'an* were different spellings of the same word,[14] and took the latter as a royal title of Kanishka (I). The same scholar pointed out, following P. Pelliot, that the Chinese characters which had been used to write *chen-t'an* had also been employed in some other texts to transcribe the Sanskrit name *chandana*, meaning sandal.[15] Lévi thought that the word *chandana* was also the Indian original of the name *Sandanes* appearing in the *Periplus*, and that the latter name should be connected with the title *chen-t'an/chan-t'an*. This would indicate that *Sandanes* should denote chan-t'an Kanishka.[16]

Lévi took the word represented by *chan-t'an* in Chinese as a title used by the Kushāṇas. He also thought that both the forms *chan-t'an* and *Sandan(es)* had *ān* as the final element, which as the genitive-plural in middle Iranian was used to be added to the name of a spot (country, mountain, river, etc.) in order to form an ethnic name. Hence, the base of both the forms would be *chandān(a)*, and the stem of the latter would be *chand(a)*.

Chanda in Prakrit means 'moon', and its corresponding form in Sanskrit is *chandra*.[17] The latter word probably appeared as *chen-t'o* before the name of Ki-eul, i.e. Kanishka (I),[17a] in the preface of the *Seng-chia-lo-ch'a so chi ching*, a Chinese translation of Saṅgharaksha's *Life of the Buddha*, done by Saṅghabhūti in c. A.D. 384.[18] According to Lévi, the same *chandra* epithet of Kanishka (I) is indicated by a verse in the Tibetan version of the *Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha*.[19]

In the title *chandra* Lévi saw an allusion to the expression *Yüeh-chih*, which literally meant *Chandra-vaṁśa* or 'Lunar family'. Hence, *Chan-t'an Kanishka* stood for *Chand(r)ān(a) Kanishka*, and denoted Kanishka (I), the monarch of the Yüeh-chih. Sandanes of the *Periplus* should be identified with a Yüeh-chih king, especially with Kanishka (I), to whom alone, among the Yüeh-chih rulers of the early

Christian centuries, the title was known to have been ascribed.[20]

According to Lévi, the official annals such as the *Hou Han-shu* and the *Wei-lüeh* support the idea of the Kushāṇa occupation of South India. The first of the passages concerned, occurring in chapter CXVIII of the former text, may be translated as follows :

'The country of Tung-li has for its capital the city of Sha-ch'i ; it is more than 3,000 (li) to the south-east of T'ien-chu ; it is a large country. The climate and products of the country are the same as those of T'ien-chu. It has several tens of cities of the first order, (the chiefs of which) call themselves "king(s)". The great Yüeh-chih attacked the kingdom and enslaved it. The men and women are all eight feet tall ; but they are cowardly and weak. Mounted on elephants or camels, they go in and come (from) the neighbouring kingdoms ; when attacked, they mount upon elephants to fight.'[21]

The other relevant passage is from the *Wei-lüeh*, and can be translated as follows :

'The country of Chü-li is also called Li-wei-t'o or again P'ei-li-wang ; it lies more than 3,000 li to the south-east to T'ien-chu. The country is low, humid and warm. The king has for the capital the city of Sha-ch'i. It (the country) has several tens of other cities ; the people are cowardly and weak. The Yüeh-chih and the T'ien-chu have attacked and subdued (the country). This territory is several thousands of li from east to west and from north to south. Among the people, the men and women are all eighteen feet tall. The people mount on elephants and camels to fight. Now (i.e. at present) the Yüeh-chih have enslaved (them) and they have imposed taxes (upon them), (or, at present the Yüeh-chih have made them subject and tributary to themselves)'.[22]

Both these passages obviously describe the same country, as Lévi had recognized. After dismissing the reading *Chü-li* as a scribal error for *Tung-li*, the Chinese characters for the variants being similar, Lévi entered upon an examination of three forms, *Tung-li*, *Li-wei-t'o* and *P'ei-li-wang*. He took the first two forms as the results of different attempts at transcribing a name difficult to pronounce in Chinese, and thought that *Tung-li* + *Li-wei-t'o* = *Toṅ-ri-(ri-)vi-da* would indicate one indigenous name denoting 'South India', *Draviḍa*. He pointed out that in Indian and Chinese texts different forms of this name appeared.[23]

Lévi added that *P'ei li* of *P'ei-li-wang* might represent the last two syllables of *Draviḍa*, viz. *viḍa*, or might be connected with the title *Vila*(*vāyakura*) (*sic*) appearing on certain coins from the Kolhapur district. The latter title, Lévi observed, was ascribed to Vāśishṭhīputra and Gautamīputra.[24] The same scholar did not propose any identification of Sha-ch'i, and admitted that it much resembled the Chinese transcription of the name of the northern city of Sāketa. However, he pointed out that due to some error the latter city was placed by Ptolemy in the region of the Western Ghats,[25] and inquired into the possibility of a similar mistake resulting in its appearance, in the Chinese source, as the capital of South India.[26]

On the basis of these observations Lévi concluded that the two passages in question indicated the

Yüeh-chih conquest of South India. As he placed the date of the information for the passage in the *Hou Han-shu* sometime between A.D. 25 and 125 or 170, he thought that the Yüeh-chih were masters of South India for a certain period between those dates.[27]

Lévi thus tried to prove the authority of Sandanes = Chan-t'an = Kanishka (I) over at least a great part of the Deccan, and in order to substantiate his case made an attempt to demonstrate the probability of the conquests of the Yüeh-chih in South India.

This elaborate theory is partly supported by R. Ghirshman[28] and vigorously upheld by A. Banerji-Sastri.[29] The former believes in Lévi's conclusions based on the testimony of Ptolemy, but considers the above extracts from the *Periplus*, the *Hou Han-shu* and the *Wei-lüeh* as indicating the Kushāṇa soverign V'ima Kadphises' rule over a part of South India.[30]

A. Banerji-Sastri observes that Kanishka(I) belonged to the Little Yüeh-chih group and that the latter moved from Arachosia and over the Brahui mountain into the Lower Indus region and thence to Surāshṭra and Lāṭa. The sources cited by Lévi suggest Kanishka (I)'s authority over Larike (= Lāṭa) and Ariake, which Banerji-Sastri takes to denote the Surāshṭra-Mālava region. The same scholar believes that Kanishka (I) extended his power to Mathurā and Vārāṇasī from Mālava, and that Chashṭana was left as the Kshatrapa over the territory from Sind to Mālava. He also suggests that king Chandanapāla, whom Tāranātha placed in Aparānta (i.e. North Konkan),[31] was the *pāla* or 'governor' of Chan-t'an

Kanishka (I), the master of Barygaza and littoral Konkan. Banerji-Sastri seems to be inclined to identify this Chandanapāla with Chashṭana,[32] which, however, was not advocated by Lévi.[33]

B

The array of testimonies in favour of the theory of Kanishka (I)'s hegemony over at least a large territory of North-Western Deccan is apparently impressive.

However, a critical analysis shows some flaws in Lévi's arguments and conclusions. These demand that the stem of *Sandanes* as well as the original of *chen-t'an/chan-t'an* was *chandān* ; that the latter was the genitive plural of *chanda* (*chandra=chen-t'o*) ; and that *chandā* was used as an epithet of Kanishka (I) during his lifetime. But it is difficult to believe that the stem of the Greek nominative singular *Sandanes* was the Indian word *chanda* with the Iranian genitive plural inflexion *-ān*. Again, it is not necessary to think that both *chen-t'an/chan-t'an* and *chen-t'o* represented the same word, even if the Chinese form in each case was transliteration of some epithet ascribed to Kanishka (I).[34] For, these Chinese terms may denote separate words, either having the same meaning, or even having different denotations.

H. W. Bailey has shown that in a manuscript from Tun-huang, now in Paris, the word *chadrra*, i.e. *chandra*, occurs before the name of Kanishka (I) both in the Sanskrit and the Khotanese portions of a Khotanese Śaka legend of Kaniskha (I)'s *stūpa* and *vihāra.*[35] The same scholar has also traced in the Iranian language of Khotan a word *chadana* meaning 'brilliant', 'shining', 'ornamented', etc., and has pointed out that 'shining' can also be one of the denotations of the expression *chandra* in Sanskrit.[36] Bailey has again proved that the Khotanese *chadana* is a modification of an older **tchandana*, 'which in turn will be an old Iranian **čandana*'.[37] An intermediary form between **tchandana* and *chadana* may have been **chandana*.

Many of the speakers of the Khotanese language in question must have been familiar with Sanskrit. *Chandra* in the former may have been a loan word taken from the latter. At least it is certain that *chandra* of the expression *chandra-Kanishka*, appearing in the Sanskrit and the Khotanese versions of the same legend, must have the same meaning in both cases, viz. 'shining' or 'moon'. It is quite probable that both Iranian **chandana* and Sanskrit *chandra* were familiar from an early time in the extreme north-west of the Indian sub-continent and Afghanistan, the meeting place of the Iranian and Indian languages and once included at least partly within the Kushāṇa empire.[38] And both Indian *chandra* and Iranian **chandana* may have a common denotation, viz. 'shining'. So the Chinese *chen-t'an/chan-t'an* and *chen-t'o* may be transliterations respectively of these **chandana* and *chandrā.*[39] Moreover, both the Chinese forms denote, as has been shown by Lévi, one and the same person, viz. Kanishka (I). Hence the natural, though not certain, inference is to take the common import of these two chinese terms as the one intended by both.

Thus *chen-t'an/chan-t'an* < **chandana* and *chen-t'o* <*chandra*, appearing in connection with Kanishka (I), may mean 'shining'. and, unlike the surmise of Lévi, may not have any direct connection with the word *Yüeh chih*. This hypothesis is further substantiated by the fact that both the *Tsa pao-tsang ching*[40] and the *Fu-fa-tsang yin yüan chuan*[41] describe Chi-ni-cha or Kanishka (I) simultaneously as chan-t'an and also as 'the king of the Yüeh-chih'. It should also be remembered that though one of the imports of Sanskrit *chandra* is 'moon', Sanskritic sources betray much more familiarity with the expression *Tukhāra*,[42] alluding to the people denoted by the term *Yüeh-chih*,[43] than with the latter name meaning literally 'the Lunar family'.[44]

No doubt, it may be argued, as indicated above, that it is not necessary to assume that *chen-t'o* < *chandra* and *chen t'an / chan-t'an* < **chandana* bear identical connotation. They may have been two different epithets of Kanishka I. It can also be contended that as one of the meanings of *chen-t'o* <*chandra* is 'moon', it may contain an allusion to the term *Yüeh-chih*, literally denoting 'the Lunar family'. But even if this line of reasoning is found valid, there is no ground to connect the Iranian word **chandana*, which cannot mean 'moon', with the expresion *Yüeh chih*. The same may be observed about the Indian word *chandana*, i.e. 'sandal', if it is claimed that *chen-t'an* as well as *chan-t'an* were its transliterations. In fact, all such possibilities are virtually ruled out, as already noted above, by the simultaneous occurrence of the epithets *chan-t'an* and 'the king of the Yüeh-chih' along with the name of Chi-ni-cha or Kanishka (I) in certain Chinese texts.

The questions now awaiting our attention are whether *chen-t'an/chan-t'an* < **chandana* and *chen-t'o* < *chandra* were used before the name of Kanishka (I) during his lifetime, and if this was so, whether they were so well known as to denote this king even when they were not accompanied by his name. It is difficult to answer either of the questions in the affirmative. For *chan-t'an* occurs in the Chinese versions of works, translated, as we have seen, long after any possible date for Kanishka I.[44a] And again the original of none of them, with the possible exception of one, can be traced.

This exception is the work called the *Ta chuang-yen lun ching*. Lévi, as we have seen, took it to be a translation of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra* of Aśvaghosha. But H. Lüders proved, on the evidence of some fragments of a manuscript of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* of Kumāralāta, that it was this Sanskrit text which was the original of the Chinese version in question.[45] In the translation occurs in one passage the phrase *chen-t'an Chia-ni-cha*[46] exactly where in the original appears the expression *kula-tilaka Kanishka*.[47] Here *kula-tilaka* is not translated into the Chinese language, but is replaced by *chen-t'an*. We admit that the change may have been to an extent due to the similarity in meaning – *tilaka* denoting 'ornament' and 'ornamented' being one of the imports of *chen-t'an* <**chandana*.[48] Nevertheless, the fact remains that the work of Kumāralāta, which may have been composed or completed shortly after Kanishka I,[49] does not furnish the term *chandana* as one of his epithets. And we cannot deny the possibility of the same having been the case with other translations. Moreover, the form *chen-t'o* occurs, as we have seen, only in the preface to a Chinese translation, made long after any possible date for Kanishka I.

The word *chandra*, no doubt, appears in the Tibetan version (*Rgyal· po· chen· po· ka· ni· ka· la· spriṅs· paẖi· ẖphrin ·yig*) of the *Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha* of Mātṛicheṭa, a contemporary of king Kanika of the Kuśa race,[50] identifiable with the Kushāṇa monarch Kanishka I.[51] The verse (no. 83) in question, addressed to Kanika (=Kanishka), can be quoted as follows :

'gnod· bgyid· ñi· ma ltar· rṅo· mi· thogs· pas/
sa· bdag· zla·ba· zla· ba· b̀zin· du· mdzod/' [52]

The following is a possible translation :

'Since we cannot look upon the hurtful sun,
Act, o moon of (i.e. among) kings, like a moon.'[53]

Here we have an example of poetic fancy, and the comparison of a celebrity with a celestial luminary is a well-known feature in Indian poetics.[54] So this verse by itself cannot establish that in Mātṛicheṭa's time *chandra* was regularly used as an epithet for Kanika = Kanishka (I).[55]

Thus we cannot prove that either **chandana* or *chandra* was a well-known epithet of Kanishka I in his own days. And so probably neither of these terms could have denoted, by itself, the Kushāṇa king during his lifetime. It is possible that *chen-t'an/chan-t'an* and *chen-t'o*, which appear to be transliterations and not translations of some non-Chinese words, did not occur in the Sanskrit originals, and that they represented some epithets of Kanishka I current at the time of rendering those works into Chinese.

Can we suggest that some time after Kanishka I's death, when the memory of his great zeal for Buddhism had been spun into the threads of the Buddhist legends, he was associated with the title *chandra* by Indian or Indianized Buddhists and **chandana* by Buddhists under the influence of an Iranian language ?[56] Both the titles, which could have the same meaning, might have been used to suggest the brilliance and splendour of Kanishka I, the very ornament of the Yüeh-chih tribe.

We have, no doubt, admitted that it was possible for the epithet *chen-t'o<chandra* to carry an import different from that of *chen-t'an/chan t'an<*chandana*. *Chen-t'o<chandra* may have meant 'moon'. It may have also contained an allusion to the name *Yüeh-chih* or 'the Lunar family'. However, the acceptance of such an argument does not necessarily imply that the expression *chandra* was regularly used by Kanishka I as one of his titles. Its use in this sense, as indicated by the occurrence of its transliteration and not translation in a Chinese translation of a date much later than the age of Kanishka I, may have begun after his death.[57]

In any case, it can not be proved that the epithet *chen-t'an/chan-t'an<*chandana* should, by itself, denote Kanishka I during the king's lifetime.[58] But Sandanes of the *Periplus*, as the passage from the text quoted above shows, appears to have been alive when either the author himsef or his informant collected the information. Hence, if the basis of the name of Sandanes was *Chandana* (or *Chandān*), he was known as such, unlike Kanishka I, during his own period. This chronological difficulty must be proved wrong before one can wish to see in *Sandanes* an epithet for Kanishka I.

We can bring forward more serious objections against Lévi's proposed identification. Sections 41 to 50 of the *Periplus* are devoted mostly to the description of Barygaza (modern Broach in the Surat district) and some political as well as geographical units connected with it. The next section, 51, refers to articles from Paithana (modern Paithan near Aurangabad)[59] and Tagara (Ter in the Osmanabad district)[60] being brought to Barygaza through tracts difficult to traverse. It is noteworthy that the articles from Paithan and Ter are said here to have been brought to Broach, whereas in normal circumstances it would have been natural for the traders to bring them from these two inland towns to Kalyāṇa (Kalliena of the *Periplus* and modern Kalyan near Bombay) through the Nana Ghat (Pass).[61] The reason for this unusual practice seems to be explained by the information given in the next section, 52. It is stated here that during the days of Sandanes, Kalliena was blockaded and the incoming ships were diverted to Barygaza. This crisis in the commerce of Kalyan obliged the traders to take their goods from inner towns of the Deccan to Broach. And it is certain that the ruler of

Barygaza had a hand in this political crisis. There must have been estranged relations between him or his predecessor and the king who held Kalliena when it became blockaded for the first time.

The latter monarch, as it appears from the passage in section 52 of the *Periplus* mentioned above, was one of the successors of Saraganos or Saraganes. As noted above, the form *Saraganes* may be philologically connected with the name *Sātakarṇi*, which is known to have been borne by several Sātavāhana monarchs. The Sātavāhana dynasty was indeed ruling in Western Deccan, where was Kalyāṇa (Kalliena), from an age earlier than the author of the *Periplus*. Hence Saraganes = Sātakarṇi was probably a Sātavāhana king.[62] The ruler of Barygaza, referred to in section 41, was Manbanos (Manbanus). The latter, as will be shown later, may have been the same as Nahapāna of coins and inscriptions[63] (Chapter IV). Nahapāna is known from other sources to have been an enemy of the Sātavāhanas.[64] So he may well have been the ruler of Barygaza when Kalyāṇa was blockaded.

This identification seems to be justifiable, since the *Periplus* does not speak of any other master of Barygaza either in section 52 or elsewhere. And as Sandanes and Manbanus = Nahapāna were contemporaries, the dates of the data given in sections 41 and 42 should be placed at approximately the same time. Hence the reference in section 47, in connection with commerce of Barygaza, to 'the very warlike nation of the Bactrians' living above the countries of the Aratii, of the Arachosii, of the Gandaraei and of the people of Proclais,[65] should also be ascribed to about the same date.

It appears that the Bactrians occupied *inter alia* areas above Proclais or Pushkalāvatī,[66] identified with the modern Charsada region in the Peshawar district.[67] This information seems to confine their Indian possessions to the extreme north-western parts of that sub-continent.

As to be demonstrated later, the territory of these Bactrians was that of the Yüeh-chih, or of one their branches, the Kushāṇa.[68] If this was so, the Yüeh-chih as well as the Kushāṇa monarch Kanishka I, who had a great part of North India under him,[69] could not possibly have been ruling at the time when this information of the *Periplus* was gathered. And since Sandanes was in Kalliena or Kalyan in Western Deccan when this news about the Yüeh-chih or the Kushāṇas was received, it would be impossible to identify Sandanes with Kanishka I. If Sunandana of a list of the Andhra (=Sātavāhana) kings furnished by the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[70] is a historical figure, he may perhaps be identified with Sandanes.[71]

Moreover, we cannot support the identification of either *Sandanes* or *Kanishka* with the name *Sandanorum*. For the term *Sandanes* is a nominative singular and so can mean only a single person; and not more than the same number can be denoted by the name *Kanishka* itself. On the other hand, the form *Sandanorum* is a genitive plural, and should allude to more than one persen called *Sandana*. It may refer to a people, tribe or family. In India such names were often used in the plural.[72] It should also be remembered that several variants of the expression *Sandano(rum)* occur in different manuscripts, and so we cannot be absolutely sure of the form of the original Indian word. Again, of these alternatives—*Sandano(rum)* and *Sadano(rum)* in the Latin versions and *Saden(on)*, *Sadan(on)*, *Sadin(on)*, *Adin(on)*, *Adan(on)*, *Aden(on)*, etc., in the Greek versions[73]— some have *sa* and some have *a* as the initial syllable. As such a feature can be noticed in quite a few fairly old manuscripts coming from different sources,[74] the forms beginning with *sa* or *a* may have been used by the author himself or by an earlier scribe or scribes knowing the alternative renderings of the same name.[75] If this was the case, the first letter of the original Indian form of the name in question could be written at least either as *sa* or as *a*.

This would have been quite probable in the case of proper names from the Deccan, where we have contemporary examples of initial *sa* being either changed into *ha* or dropped altogether. Thus the legends on some Sātavāhana coins from Western India give the name *Sātakaṇi* as *Hātakaṇi*,[77] and the *Periplus* has *Ouppara*, (i.e. *Opara*,), instead of *Souppāra* (i.e. *Sopārā*). [76] Even now the people of the Bassein district change the initial *sa* into *ha* or drop it.[78] So the name in question may have originally begun with *sa*, though this was occasionally changed into *ha* or dropped by the speakers of some dialects of the Deccan.

We should now consider the fact that Ptolemy included within the section concerning *Ariacha*

Sandanorum (or *Ariakes Sadinon*, etc.,) many places which, taken together, should have covered a great part of Western Deccan.[79] As he expressly stated that he collected much of his data from traders coming from an emporium,[80] identifiable with a port in North-Western Deccan,[81] his knowledge of that region might not have been hopelessly out of date. Hence the powerful royal dynasty of North-Western Deccan, whose name began with *sa*, should have been ruling in that area well within a century before the date of Ptolemy's information. Such conditions could be fulfilled only by the Sātavāhana royal family.

As there are many variants of the name in question, we cannot definitely determine the Indian expression on which was based the name appearing in Ptolemy's original manuscript. We may, however, offer a suggestion. The term *Sātavāhana* or its possible variant **Ātavāhana* may be corrupted in inscriptional Prakrit as **Sātāhana* or **Ātāhana*. Actually, there occurs in a record the form *Sātāhani* in place of *Sātavāhanī*.[82] It should also be remembered that we have cases of *ta* having been changed into *da* in the legends of the Sātavāhana coins.[83] So we can obtain the forms **Sādāhana* and **Ādāhana*. Again, as *Sāta* (of *Sātakarṇi*) has been sometimes changed into *Sāti* in the legend of the same series of coins,[84] the alternative corrupted forms of **Sātavāhana* and **Ātavāhana* can be respectively **Sādihana* and **Ādihana*. If we now remember that in transcriptions of Indian words in Greek and Latin one may notice insertions as well as elisions of sounds,[85] it will be possible to consider the term **Sādāhāna* as the origin of the forms *Sandano(rum)*, *Sadano(rum)* and *Sadan(on)*, and to assume **Sādihana* as the base of *Sadin(on)*. Similarly **Ādāhana* can be taken as the source of *Adan(on)*, and **Ādihana* may be accepted as that of *Adin(on)* and *Aden-(on)*. Here the syllable *ha* seems to have been dropped in all cases and a superfluous (gliding ?) *n* has been inserted, as in the case of *Sandano (rum)*. One of these four Indian forms was probably the prototype of the word written by Ptolemy. A knowledgeable scribe or scribes of the early Christian centuries made use of the other Indian variants.[86]

Whether such interpretations of the forms *Sandano-(rum)*, *Sadin(on)*, *Sadan(on)*, *Adin(on)*, etc., are acceptable or not, the above discussion demonstrates the futility of connecting any one of them with Kanishka I. We should now try to examine the evidence culled by Lévi from the Chinese annals. A comparison between the two passages quoted by Lévi convinces one that the descriptions of the country given in both of them have come from one common source. The information about the Yüeh-chih conquests in India furnished by the *Hou Han-shu* was derived from Pan Yung's report prepared in c. A.D. 125.[87] The latter may well have been consulted by the author of the *Wei-lüeh*, who wrote his book sometime between A.D. 239 and 265.[88] He, however, ascribed to the country in question three names which do not appear in the *Hou Han-shu*. And as the writer of the latter treatise followed Pan Yung regarding the description of this country, he would have mentioned these three names appearing in the *Wei-lüeh* if they had occurred in the account of Pan Yung. Hence the author of the *Wei-lüeh* seems to have consulted some other document in addition to Pan Yung's report. But as the latter is the earliest of the Chinese sources regarding the Yüeh-chih victories in India, its information about their conquest of the country in question should be treated as more trustworthy than that given in any other Chinese record.

Thus we believe that Tung-li was the name of the country when it was invaded by the Yüeh-chih. Actually, the author of the *Wei-lüeh* may have used the same name, if we take, following Lévi, *Chü-li* as a scribal error for *Tung-li*, the Chinese characters for *Tung* (東) and *Chü* (車) being very similar. Lévi's attempt to connect Tung-li with Li-wei-t‘o in order to equate the resultant form with *Draviḍa*, however, seems to be rather arbitrary. For, the author of the *Wei-lüeh* never indicates that these two are parts of one and the same name. Again, though it may be difficlt to express the name *Draviḍa* in Chinese, there is no definite reason to believe that these two Chinese forms are different attempts to achieve that hard task. Whether *P‘ei li* of the third name *P‘el-li-wang* stands for *viḍa* of *Draviḍa* is a moot point, and cannot be proved or disproved. It is, however, very unlikely that *P‘ei-li* has any connection with *Viḷivāyakura* (wrongly spelt by Lévi as *Vilavāyakura*). For, the latter appellation, known from a group of coins of the Kolhapur region, has nothing to do with either *Draviḍa* or with Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī and Vāśiṣhṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, the Sātavāhana lords of the Deccan, and denotes rulers belonging to a different family of Western Deccan[89].

There are other insuperable difficulties in accepting Lévi's suggestion. He seems never to have realised that even if his identifications of names in Classical sources with those in Chinese were correct, one set of evidence would place the Kushāṇas in Western Deccan, and the other would locate them in Draviḍa, which generally included the Tamil country or the Far South.[90] At least in the first three centuries of the Christian Era, to which period the Greek, Latin and Chinese sources in question should be attributed, the term *Draviḍa* did not geographically denote the Western Deccan.[91]

Again, the *Wei-lüeh* locates Tung-li between T'ien-chu and P'an-yüeh (also known as Han-yüeh wang).[92] The latter name, as Pelliot showed convincingly, should denote Vaṅga kingdom[93] (i.e. part of undivided Bengal).[94] If this is so, the term *T'ien-chu* cannot here signify the whole of India and should be taken in its narrower sense. We have suggested elsewhere that Shen-tu or T'ien-chu of Pan Yung's report incorporated regions on the western side and perhaps also a part of eastern bank of the Lower Indus[95] (see also Appendix III). Consequently, the Tung-li country should be placed somewhere in Northern India, and not in the South. Moreover, the impression that the people of Tung-li were of high stature, even though the exact height given in the *Hou Han-shu* is evidently an exaggeration and that stated in the *Wei-lüeh* a mistake, should point to men of the North rather than to those of the Dravidian South.[96] And finally, camels, used for communication in Tung-li, are never known to have served such purpose in the South.[97]

Sha-ch'i, the capital of Tung-li itself, can be identified, as Thomas showed,[98] with Sa(sha)geda, i.e. Sāketa, located in an area adjoining Ayodhyā in modern Fyzabad district. Lévi's suggestion that the Chinese, like Ptolemy, may have wrongly transplanted this name into Tung-li of the Deccan cannot be entertained for want of definite proof of such mistakes having been committed in the *Hou Han-shu's* (or Pan Yung's) description of India. Hence, it seems certain that Tung-li included *inter alia* the region around Sāketa.

Thomas suggested that the form *Tung-li* is a translation of an Indian name. He thought that *Tung* should mean 'east', and that *li*, lj^{ie} of Ancient Chinese,[99] was frequently used for translating a Sanskrit word meaning 'separation' (*bhāga*), especially when 'compounded' with *vi*-(i.e. *vibhāga*). Thus *Tung-li* could mean *Pūrva-vibhāga* (i.e. *Prāchya vibhāga* or *Prāg-deśa* or 'the eastern region').[100] But, probably as he wanted to connect Sha-ch'i with Sāketa, the area of which was included in Indian sources within *Madhya-deśa*, Thomas tried to devise a new connotation for the term *Pūrva-deśa*. He observed that the accounts of Alexander's annalists would indicate that in his time the whole country from Magadha to the border of the Punjab was under the Prasioi, the Prāchya people. Thomas was inclined to interpret this evidence as suggesting that the term *Pūrva deśa* was popularly used to denote this vast territory.[101]

The Classical accounts, however, do not necessarily indicate that the country of the Prasioi extended up to the borders of the Punjab. It may only be inferred from their statements that the dominions of the King or Kings of the Prasioi and the Gangaridai stretched up to the upper courses of the Ganges in Northern U.P.[102] The Prasioi or the Prāchya people in question were under the Nandas of Magadha.[103] The empire of the latter may have expanded beyond the natural frontiers of the Prāchya or Eastern division,[104] and this political geography may have been reflected in the Classical accounts.[105] In Indian sources *Pūrva-deśa* never included any territory to the west of Prayāga or Allahabad.[106] And, hence, there is no reason to believe that when the Yüeh-chih came to India Tung-li ment *Pūrva-deśa* in the sense understood by Alexander's annalists. Thus we cannot share Thomas' conception of the meaning of *Tung* of the expression *Tung-li*. However, *li*, which means *inter alia* 'to separate' and also 'separated',[106a] may have been used, as he thought, to denote a particular zone, territory or area demarcated from other regions.

We have no definite evidence to determine the Indian original of the Chinese form *Tung*. But we may here cite a passage from Ptolemy's *Geography*,[107] which may be translated as follows :

'The parts from (i.e. on) the east of the Ganges, (and) along the whole course of the river, (are) occupied in the farthest north by the Ganganoi, through whose (territory) flows the Sarabos, and in whose (territory) are the following towns :

Sapolos :	139° 33° 20′	Heorta :	138° 34°
Storna :	138° 20′ 34° 20′	Roppha :	137° 20′ 33°20′.'

The Sarabos, running through the country in question, can be identified with river the Sarabhū or

Sarayū, now a days the joint streams of the Sarju and the Gogra.[108] Sha-ch'i/Sāketa is considered to have been situated very close to Ayodhyā on the latter river.[109] Thus Tung-li may have included a region which Ptolemy placed in the territory of the Ganganoi.

This topographical affinity may, however, be purely accidental. The river Sarayū may have flowed through the land of Tung-li and also of the Ganganoi, and even the information about Tung-li and the Ganganoi may belong to two different periods. But there are some indications of a closer relationship between the name of Tung-li and that of the Ganganoi. In one old manuscript of Ptolemy's *Geography* occurs the form *Tanganoi* in place of *Ganganoi*.[110] **Gangana* never appears as a tribal name in any Indian source. On the other hand, *Tuṅgaṇa* or *Taṅgaṇa* is the appellation of a fairly well-known people of ancient India.[111] Hence it appears that *Tanganoi* is the correct form of the name of the people intended in Ptolemy's passage in question.[112]

The scribes of some of the early Greek manuscripts of the *Geography* may have confused *tou* (Τ) with *gamma* (Γ). Moreover, early copyists, whether of the Greek or Latin versions of the *Geography*, may have been encouraged to substitute the Γ for Τ by their knowledge of the well-known Indian name *Gaṅgā*, i.e. the Ganges.[113] Again, this name *Tuṅgaṇa*, a variant of *Taṅgaṇa*, may well have been the Indian original of the Chinese ***Tung***, as we have examples of Indian words having been transliterated in shortened forms in Chinese during the early Christian centuries.[114] And if, as noted above, we can take *li* as denoting a 'separated' zone, territory, or area, then *Tung-li* may mean the demarcated area of the Tuṅgaṇas,[115] just as Ptolemy indicates the territory of the Ganganoi (Tanganoi) as distinct from other regions of 'the parts' (i.e. the lands) on the east of the Ganges. Unfortunately, none of the towns mentioned by Ptolemy in the section concerned can be definitely identified. Nevertheless, it appears, from the description as well as from the difference between the supposed latitudes and longitudes attributed to these towns, that Ptolemy wanted to ascribe a large territory to this people.[116] This fact also tallies with the Chinese description of the Tung-li country.

Thomas tried to interpret the terms *Li-wei-t'o* and *P'ei-li-wang* as translations of some designations or descriptions of the country in question.[117] However, they do not give us any further secure ground for its identification. Nevertheless, in the light of the above discussion we can conclude that Tung-li included the region of Sāketa contignous to modern Ayodhyā and should be placed in North India.[118]

In this connection we may refer to the Tibetan work *Li·yul·gyi lo·rgyus* (*The Annals of the Li Country*), the statements of which about the kings of the Li country (Khotan)[119] are generally reliable.[120] According to one such testimony, originally King Kanika,[121] the King of Guzan[122], and the Li ruler, King Vijayakīrti, and others led an army into India and captured a city named So·ked....[123]

So-ked of the above passage certainly stands for Sāketa.[124] King Kanika may also be identified. By the name *Kanika*, Mātṛicheṭa probably denoted a Kushāṇa king called Kanishka.[125] Kumāralāta referred to the military expedition of Chia-ni-cha of the Chü-sha race,[126] identified with Kushāṇa Kanishka I,[127] in Eastern India. Thus that author indicates Kanishka I's campaigns in India. Epigraphic evidence testifies to his authority over the Sahet-Mahet area,[128] which lies not far from and to the north-west of the area of ancient Sāketa, and so may well have been within the limits of the country of Tung-li. On the other hand, there is no reason to believe that either Kanishka II or III made any military exploit in Northern or Eastern India. These considerations render, as has already been assumed,[129] the identfication of Kanika of the Tibetan treatise with king Kanishka I highly probable.

Thus the Yüeh-chih Kanishka I probably annexed Sāketa. And if the Yüeh-chih are not considered to have twice conquered Sāketa, of which there is no evidence, then it must be admitted that the Chinese sources, referring to the Yüeh-chih conquest of Sha-ch'i = Sāketa, should indicate Kanishka I's victory in that region and probably in the areas lying near it. Herein lies the importance of the Chinese passages cited by Lévi.[130]

C

Thus the upshot of the whole discussion is that Lévi's arguments about Kanishka (I)'s authority over the Deccan, especially North-Western Deccan, do not bear scrutiny. The same may be said about the additional arguments put forward by A. Banerji-Sastri in favour of Lévi's theory. Banerji-Sastri does not produce any concrete evidence to support his theory about the migration of Kanishka (I)'s family from Arachosia and via the Lower Indus region to Surāshṭra, Lāṭa, etc.[131] It is also not absolutely necessary to regard Chashṭana as Kanishka I's governor in the Deccan as defined above in Chapter I[132] (Chapter IV). It is also difficult to believe that Chandanapāla of Aparānta, referred to by Tāranātha,[133] was a governor of Kanishka I. For that author seems to have taken the noun *Chandnapāla* as standing for a proper name and not as denoting the *pāla* or 'governor'[134] of Chandana.[135]

NOTES

1. *JA*, 1936, vol, CCXXVIII, pp. 61-92.
2. Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 197.
3. *Periplus*, sec. 52 (Frisk, *Periplus*, p. 17). Sometimes *Ouppara* is unnecessarily corrected by editors and translators as *Souppara* or *Suppara* (see Frisk, *Periplus*, p. 17, f. n. ; Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 43 ; *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII., p, 62) ; *Opārā* or *Ouppara* itself may be a local variant of the name *Sopārā* or *Souppara* (see *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, vol. I, p. 72).

   For translations slightly different from that given here, see Boyer, *JA*, 1897, s. IX, vol. IX, p. 138 ; Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 43 ; Lévi, *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 62.

4. Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 180.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

6. *EI*, vol. VIII, pp. 71, 73 and 98 ; *ASWI*, vol. V, pp. 75 and 78-79 ; *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, pp. 52, 75 and 92 ; etc. The forms *Seṭagiri* (Nasik inscription of the year 19 of Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi) and *Seḍagiri* (Nagarjunakonda epigraph of Vasusheṇa) have been traced to the name *Setagiri* (*Śvetagiri*). (*ASWI*, vol. V, p. 108, f.n. 8 ; *EI*, vol. XXXIV, pp. 200 and 203 ; *IHQ*, 1962, vol. XXXVIII, p. 237. On the analogy of this evidence we may postulate the development *Sātakaṇi*> **Sāṭakaṇi*> **Sāḍakaṇi*. **Sāḍakaṇi* could have developed into **Sārakaṇi* through the intermediary stage **Sāṛakaṇi*. *Sātakaṇi* and *Sātakani* are regular Prakrit forms of *Sātakarṇi* (*CCADWK*, p. 44, pl. VII, no. 176-177). It is also well-known that *ka* often changes into *ga* in Prakrit. Hence **Sāragaṇi* and **Sāragani* (**Sāḍagani*) may have developed from *Sātakarṇi*. In several legends on coins of the Sātavāhana period one may notice the form *Sātakaṇa* or *Sātakana* (?) in place of the name *Sātakaṇi* = *Sātakani* = *Sātakarṇi* (*Ibid.*, pp. 38-39 and 44 f, pl. VII, nos. 175 and El. ; A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pl. XII, no. 8 ; etc). This suggests **Sātakaṇa* and *Sātakana* as alternatives of *Sātakaṇi*, and consequently indicates **Sāragaṇa* and **Sāragana* as variants of **Sāragaṇi*. **Sāragaṇa* or **Sāragana* may have been the stem of the genitive singular from *Saraganou*, i.e. of Saraganes or Saraganos, occurring in section 52 of the *Periplus*.

7. Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 197.

8. *Ptolemy*, VII, 1, 6 and 82.

9. *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, pp. 75 and 92. Lévi considered the date of the *Periplus* as A. D. 50-100 and placed that of Ptolemy's information about the

section concerned between A. D. 125 and 160 in one place and only in the first half of the 2nd. century A. D. in another (see *Ibid.*, pp. 68 and 92).

9a. In the treatise in question the term *Chen-t'an* occurs also besides the name *Chi-ni-cha* (*Ibid*, 1896, s. IX, vol. VIII, p. 452). From the contents of the stories mentioning the names *Chia-ni-cha* and *Chi-ni-cha* (see below nn. 10, 11 and 11a) it appears that they refer to one and the same person. In one story Chi-ni-cha is described as a Yüeh-chih king, and in another Chia-ni-cha is assigned to the Chü-sha, i.e. Kusha, race, which, as is known from other sources, formed a branch of the Yüeh-chih people. The Yüeh-chih as well as Kushāṇa Chia-ni-cha/Chi-ni-cha is extolled in these stories for his great zeal for Buddhism (see below nn. 10, 11 and 11a). It is also noteworthy that the character *chia* (迦) of *Chia-ni-cha* indicates that the name transliterated as Chia-ni-cha began with *Ka* (*Karlgren*, no.342). These suggest that Chia-ni-cha=Chi ni-cha should be identified with the Yüeh-chih as well as Kushāṇa monarch Kanishka I, the famous patron of Buddhism.

10. *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 80 ; *Ibid*, 1896, s. IX, vol. VIII, p. 445 ; *Nanjio*, no. 1182 ; *Taisho Tripiṭaka*, no. 201, ch. IV, p. 287. The date of the translation should be placed, according to E. Zürcher, in early fifth century A. D. (E. Zürcher. The Yüeh-chih and Kanishka in Chinese sources, *PCDK*, p. 15). Scholars now generally take this Chinese work as the translation of Kumāralāta's *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (*Ibid.*, p. 15).

10a. See above n. 9a.

11. *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 81 ; *Ibid.*, 1896, s. IX, vol. VIII, pp. 447 and 476 ; *Nanjio*, no. 1340 ; *Taisho Tripiṭaka*, no. 2058, ch. V, p. 315.

11a. *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, pp. 81; *Ibid.*, 1896, s. IX, vol. VIII, pp. 446, 469 and 472 ; *Nanjio*, no. 1329 ; *Taisho Tripiṭaka*. no. 203, ch. VIII, pp. 484f.

12. E. Zürcher wants to place the date of the translation in c. A. D. 470 (E. Zürcher, *Op. cit.*, *PCDK*, p. 15). Lévi doubtfully reconstructed the name of the Indian original of the first of these two translations as *Srī Dharmapiṭaka.-nidāna-sūtra* (*JA*, 1896, s. IX, vol. VIII, p. 447). The name of the Indian original of the second Chinese translation was, according to Lévi, *Saṁyukta-ratnapiṭaka-sūtra* (*Ibid.*, 1896, s. IX, vol. VIII, p. 446).

13. *JA*, 1927, pt. II, p. 119 ; *Ibid.*, 1936, vol CCXXVIII, pp. 80-81.

14. *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, pp. 79 ff.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 80 and 83 ; *BEFEO*, 1903, vol. III, p. 253, f. n. 4.

16. *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, pp. 76 and 84.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86 ; H.D.T. Sheth, *Pāia-Sadda Mahāṇṇavo*, Prakrit Text Society Series, no. 7, 1963, p. 313 ; M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1961), p. 386.

17a. *BEFEO*, 1903, vol. III p. 254, f.n. ; *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 86.

18. *Nanjio*, no. 1352 ; *BEFEO*, 1903, vol. III, p. 254, f. n.

19. Verse no. 83 in the *Rgyal·po·chen·po·ka·ni·ka·la·spriṅs·paḥi·ḥphrin·yig*, the Tibetan version of the *Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha*. Its author Māṭricheṭa wrote this epistle to Kanika, whom we may identify with Kanishka I (see below n. 51). See also *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 86 ; *IA*, 1903, vol. XXXII, pp. 345-360.

20. *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 87 (see below n. 56).

21. This is a new translation. For Lévi's translation, which is not materially different from that of ours, see *Ibid.*, p. 88. See also *TP*, 1907, s. II, vol, VIII, pp, 194-195; E. Zürcher, *Op. cit.*, *PCDK*, p. 6. For the Chinese text see *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 10.

22. This is a new translation. For Lévi's translation, which is not materially different from that of ours, see *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII p. 88; see also *TP*, 1905, s. II, vol VI, p. 551; E. Zürcher, *Op. cit.*, *PCDK*, p. 8. For the Chinese text consult P'ei Sung-chih's commentary on the *San-kuo chih* and see the section containing a commentary on the *Wei-chih*, ch. 30, p. 29 (Po-na edition).

    Lévi also referred to the description of another kingdom, called P'an-yüeh, furnished in the *Wei-lüeh*. However, he did not draw any inference from it (*JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, pp. 88-89).

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90. Lévi observed in this connection that in Europe two forms of the name for South India gained currency. These are *Dravid* (*Draviḍa*) and *Tamul* (*Tāmila*). It would be difficult, the same scholar observed, to find out the 'original' designation (*Ibid.*, p. 89).

24. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

25. *Ptolemy*, VII, 1, 71.

26. *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII. pp. 90-92.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 92. Lévi followed E. Chavannes regarding the dating of the information given in the passage in question (*TP*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, p. 150).

28 *Bégram*, p. 145.

29. *IHQ*, 1937, vol, XIII, pp. 211-217. See also J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, p. 384; J. N. Banerjea, *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 237; and L. Malleret, *L'Archéologie du Delta du Mekong*,

vol. III—*La Culture du Fou Nan*, Publications de l' Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, vol. XLIII, pp. 362-371 ; B. N. Puri, *India Under the Kushāṇas*, pp. 37 and 53. F. W. Thomas was inclined, though not with much confidence, to see in *Sandanes* a reference to Kanishka (I) (*NIA*, 1944, vol, VII, pp. 95-96) See also *BSOAS*, 1949-1951, vol. XIII, p. 927.

30 *Bégram*, pp, 135 and f. n. 4 and 145.

31. *CCADWK*, p. XXXII.

32. *IHQ*, 1937, vol. XIII, pp. 211-217.

33. The evidence of Tāranātha was also cited by Lévi (*JA*, 1936. vol, CCXXVIII, p. 85). However, he did not take Chandanapāla as Kanishka (I)'s governor.

34. For the reasons suggesting the probability of committing an error in proposing a genitive plural *chandan(a)* in order to join *chandan* with with *chandra*, see *BSOAS*, 1949-1951, vol. XIII, p. 927, f. n. 1.

35, H, W, Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, vol, II, pp. 201 ff; *BSOAS*, 1935-1937, vol. VIII, pp. 926-930 ; H. W. Bailey, Kanishka, *PCDK*, pp. 1-2. See also B. N. Mukherjee, *British Museum Quarterly*, 1964, vol, XXVIII, pp. 41-42.

36. *BSOAS*, 1949-1951, vol. XIII, pp. 927-929.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 928.

38, *Bégram*, pp. 118 ff.

39. *BSOAS*, 1949-1951. vol XIII, pp. 929-930.

40. *Taisho Tripiṭaka*, no. 203, ch. VII, p. 484.

41. *Ibid.*, no. 2058, ch. V, p. 315.

42. *DKA*, pp. 45-47 ; *Mahābhārata*, II, 47, 26 ; *BSOAS*, 1935-37. vol. VIII, p. 888 ; etc.

43. *SBAW*, 1927, pp. 206f ; *TP*, 1912, s. II, vol. XIII, p. 392 ; *JA*, 1934, vol. CCXXIV, p. 36, *JAOS*, 1941, vol. LXI, p. 244 ; B. N. Mukherjee, *Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, ch. I, sec.E (in the press).

44. The suggested equation of the name of the Ṛishikas, referred to in the *Mahābhārata* (II, 24, 25), with that of the Yüeh-chih (J. Vidyalamkara, *Bhāratabhūmi Aura Uske Nivāsī*, p. 313; Buddha Prakash, *India and the Outside World*, p. 233 ; etc.) is not based on any reliable datum. Moreover, the suggested pronunciations of the term *Yüch-chih* in Archaic and Ancient Chinese (*Karlgren*, nos. 879 and 1347 ; *Asia Major*, 1963, ns, vol .IX, p. 109) do not indicate any connection with the name *Ṛishika*. It may also be added here that the attempt to relate the term *Yüeh-chih* phonetically to Toγara (*Tukhāra*) (*BSOAS*, 1935-37, vol. VIII, pp. 885-888) cannot be supported by any unimpeachable evidence.

44a. D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 246-250 ; B. N. Mukherjee, *Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, ch. IV (in the press) ; etc.

45. H. Lüders, *Bruchshstucke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta*, pp. 19 and 26.

46. *Taisho Tripiṭaka*, no. 201, ch. IV, p. 287.

47. H. Lüders, *Op. cit.*, pp. 67 and 153. The relevant portion can be deciphered in the manuscript published by H. Lüders as *latila·(Ka)ṇi·e* (*Ibid.*, table III, no. IIIa, 1.5). Lüders restored the effaced letters and suggested the alternative readings *(Ku)latilak(a-Ka)ṇi(shk)e(na)* and *(Ku)latilak(e) (Ka)ṇi(shk;e* (*Ibid.*, p. 67). Hence the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* refers to *Kula-tilaka Kaṇishka*, i.e. *Kula-tılaka Kaniskha* (The name of King Kanishka I appears in epigraphs as *inter alia Kaṇishka* and *Kaniskha*—*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. 141 and 145 ; etc.).

48. *BSOAS*, 1949-51, vol. XIII, pp. 928 and 930.

49. According to the *Tsa pao-tsang ching*, Kanishka (Chi-ni-cha) (I) and Aśvaghosha (Ma-ming) were contemporaries (*Taisho Tripiṭaka*, no. 203, ch. VII, p. 484.) Again it appears from the *Ta T'ang Ta Tzu-en-ssu*

San tsang-fa-shih chuan that Aśvaghosha and Kumāralabdha—Kumāralāta lived in one and the same age (S. Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 199; M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. II, p. 269; T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. I, p. 245; vol. II, pp. 286-289). Thus Kumāralāta should have been more or less a contemporary of Kanishka I. On the other hand, two stories (nos. 14 and 31) of the Chinese version of the *Kapalanāmaṇḍitikā* of Kumāralāta (and also one narrative in the Sanskrit original) apparently refer to Kanishka (Chia-ni-cha) (I) as a king of a past age (*JA*, 1896, s. IX, vol. VIII, pp. 444f, nos. 14 and 31; H. Lüders, *Op. cit.*, pp 67 and 153; Winternitz, *Op. cit.*, p. 269). Hence this work seems to have been composed, or at least completed, after the death of that king. These apparently contradictory testimonies can be reconciled only by assuming that the text in question was composed or completed shortly after the end of Kanishka I's rule.

50. *IA*, 1903, vol. XXXII, p. 348.

51. The *Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha* refers King Kanika to the Kuśa race (v. 49). The *Ta chuang-yen lun ching* describes Chia-ni-cha (Kanishka I) as a monarch among the Chu-sha race. These testimonies and also the fact that *Kop* seems to be the stem of the form *Kopano* appearing on the Kushāṇa coins definitely indicate that Kanika of the *Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha* was a Kushāṇa sovereign.

According to Al Bīrūnī, the *vihāra* at Purushavar was built by Kanik (E. C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, vol. II, p. 11). The Shah-ji-ki Dheri inscription of Kanishka I shows that this Buddhist establishment was created during the reign of Kanishka I (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 137; *British Museum Quarterly*, 1964, vol XXVIII, pp. 43-45). This should indicate that Kanishka I was known as Kanika.

No doubt, Tāranātha distinguished Kanika, to whom Mātṛicheṭa sent an epistle (*Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha*), from Kanishka, apparently the same as Kanishka I [Schiefner, *Tāranātha* (text), pp. 70-72 ; Schiefner, *Tāranātha* (translation), pp. 8 and 90-92 ; *IA*, 1903, vol. XXXII, p. 348]. But the value of Tāranātha's evidence in question is minimised by his very late date (c. A.D. 1608). Moreover, he appears to contradict known history.

Tāranātha refers to Kanika apparently as the first member of his family to rule in Mālava [Schiefner, *Tāranātha* (text), p. 70 ; Schiefner, *Tāranātha* (translation), p. 89]. This Kanika, to whom Mātṛicheṭa addressed his famous letter, was, as noted above, a Kushāṇa. And a part of Mālava was incorporated in the Kushāṇa empire during the reign of Kanishka I. At least this is indicated by the facts that the Vaskushāṇa or Vāsishka Kushāṇa's inscription of the year 22, most probably of the Kanishka Era, was discovered at Sanchi in Malwa, and that Kanishka I ruled up to sometime of the year 23 of his era, if not more (*PIHC*, 1944, p. 135 ; *BSOAS*, 1953, vol. XV, p. 977 ; B. N. Mukherjee, *Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, ch. II, in the press).

Thus Tāranātha seems to be wrong in distinguishing Kanika from Kanishka. The known facts suggest the identity of Kanika of the *Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha* with Kanishka I.

52. *Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha*, v. 83 ; *IA*, 1903, vol. XXXII, p. 360.

53. *IA*, 1903, vol. XXXII, p. 360.

54. *Mahābhārata*, VI, 59, 47 and 107, 76; VII, 33, 18; *Raghuvaṁśa*, VI, 22. Verse no. 49 of the *Mahārāja-Kanikalekha* itself describes the ancestors of Kanika as 'sons of the Ārya stock' (*IA*, 1903, vol. XXVII, p. 356). Hence Thomas' query 'can Kanika have been named Chandra-Kanika' (*Ibid.*, p. 149, fn. 11) cannot be answered in the affirmative. Thomas himself also observed that the relevant portion of verse no. 83 'must to students of Indian poetry suggest a play upon words' (*Ibid.*, p. 349). See also *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, pp. 85-87.

55. It may be noted here that Dr. R. C. Majumdar once suggested that king Chandra of the Meharauli inscription should be identified with Chandra Kanishka (I) (*JRASBL*, 1943, s. III, vol. IX, pp. 179-183). But the palaeographic evidence is very much against the ascription of the epigraph to the age of Kanishka I. Again, Chandra of the Meharauli inscription appears to have Vaishṇava leanings (*SI*, p. 277), and so such an identification implies Vaishṇava affinities also on the part of Kanishka I. Of this, however, we have no evidence.

56. See also *BSOAS*, 1949-51, vol. XIII, pp. 922-930.

Here we may refer to the evidence of an inscription occurring in an impression of a seal on black wax, found at Sahri Bahlol in the Mardan region of the Peshawar district. It is interesting to note that the Sahri Bahlol inscription refers to a Kushāṇa Kaneshko or Kanishka, and not, as A. D. H. Bivar has suggested, to a son of Kanishka (*NC*, 1955, pp. 203-205; pl. XV. no. 1; *Summary of Papers*, XXVI *International Congress of Orientalists*, 1964, p. 171). It describes him as *maho*, which may remind one of the name *Mao* (*Māh*) appearing on several Kushāṇa coins (*JA*, 1958, vol. CCLXVI, p. 424) and signifying 'moon' or rather the 'Moon God'. The literal imports of the Middle Iranian term *m'h* (*māh*) are 'moon' and 'month'. The Sanskrit word for moon is *chandra*. If *maho* (*māh*+*o*) really denotes moon, *chandra* may have been an epithet of this Kanishka. And since, as pointed out by J. Charpentier (*ZDMG*, 1917, vol. LXI, p. 374, fn. 4) and S. Lévi (*JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 87), the expression *Yüeh-chih* literally means the 'lunar family' (see also J. C. Quo, *Op. cit.*, pp. 20 and 224), the phrase *maho Kaneshko* may associate Kushāṇa Kanishka with the Yüeh-chih race, to which all Kushāṇa kings belonged.

W. B. Henning apparently thinks that this Kanishka should be identified with Kanishka I (*ZDMG*, 1965, vol. CXV, pp. 85-87). There are, however, great difficulties in accepting this identification. The form of the letter used to denote the sound *h* in *maho* is more developed than that of the same letter appearing on the coins of Huvishka (*NC*, 1892, pl. XIII, no. 8), who certainly reigned after Kanishka I.

The seal bears the figure of a male facing right and struggling with a rearing horse (*Ibid.*, 1955, pl. XV, no. 1). This device has been identified as representing Heracles combating with the horse of Diomedes (*Ibid.*, p. 203). This type occurs on some coins of Heraclea Pontica of the time of Caracalla (A.D. 198-217) and of Gallienus (A.D. 253-268). A comparison between this type appearing on these Heraclea Pontica coins and that on our seal reveals a strong similarity between them. And since Roman coin-types are known to have influenced the Kushaṇa mint masters, and not *vice versa*, there is a likelihood of the relevant type of Caracalla or Gallienus having been the prototype of the device on the seal concerned. This means that it must be dated in or after A.D. 198. Kanishka I could not possibly have ruled in so late a period as A.D. 198 (see chapter IV; see also B. N. Mukherjee, *Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, ch. III, sec. D and E, in the press).

It should also be noted that the from of the letter *zeta* is palaeographically more developed than that of the same letter occurring on the coins of Vāsudeva I (*NC*, 1892, pl. XIV, nos. A, B, C, etc). This evidence suggests that our seal schould be dated after the reign of Vāsudeva I, whose last known date is the year 98 of the Kanishka Era.

Kanishka, referred to in the Sahri Bahlol inscription, thus cannot be identified either with Kanishka I (years 2-23 of the Kanishka Era) or with Kanishka of the Ara epigraph of the year 41 (of the same reckoning). Hence Kanishka of the seal should be called Kanishka III.

It appears that the term *maho=mao* (moon) = *chandra* was an epithet of Kanishka III. This, however, does not prove that the same title was used by Kanishka I, another Kushāṇa monarch. Moreover, the word *chen-t'o<chandra*, appearing before the name of Kanishka I in a Chinese treatise, probably denotes 'shining', and not 'moon'.

It may also be noted here that Lévi was wrong in observing that Kanishka I was the only Yüeh-chih king of the early Christian centuries with whom the title *chandra* was associated. The same title, though probably bearing a different connotation, seems to have been used also by Kanishka III. We must, however, concede that the Sahri Bahlol inscription was noticed long after the death of Lévi.

57. Kanishka III may have used the title *chandra* (see above n. 56). The word *Sando* occurs as an epithet (?) in an early mediaeval Bactrian inscription found in the Tochi agency in West Pakistan. The word has been

translated as 'brilliant' (*Ancient Pakistan,* 1964, vol. I, pp. 132-133). We do not know whether *Sando* can be related to *chandra.* We may, however, note that one of the meanings of *chandra* is 'shining', which is an expression of brilliance. No doubt, in the Greek script, employed in writing Bactrian language, there was no letter representing the sound *cha.* Nevertheless, there are instances of Indian *cha* having been represented by Greek *sigma* at least in Greek texts (c.f. *Chandraguptaḥ*> *Sandrokottos*).

58. Wu K'ong noticed in the 8th century that a monastery of Gandhāra called Chan-t'an Hu-li was named after the younger brother of a king of that region, who descended from Ki-ni-cha (*JA,* 1895, pt. II, pp. 341-384 ; 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 83). In the same century a king of Hu-mi or Wakhan was called Lo Chen-t'an (Lo-lu-i-t'o Chen-t'an ?). The title *Hu Chen-t'an* (Chen-t'an of Hu-mi ?) was ascribed to his younger brother (or cousin) (*T'ang-shu,* ch. CCXXI ; *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 84). Thus Chinese sources suggest the use of the title *Chan-t'an/Chen-t'an* by members of the royal families of Gandhāra and Wakhan (both of which might once have been under the Kushāṇas) in a century long after the death of Kanishka I.

It may be of interest to note that the same title *chan-t'an* was used also by the King of Fu-nan probably in the 4th century A.D. (For references to sources see *BEFEO*, 1903, vol. III, pp. 252-269 ; *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, pp. 81-82. In this connection see also, *India Antiqua*, pp. 171f).

59. Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 195.

60. *JRAS*, 1901, pp. 537-552.

61. See *Ibid.*, 1946, p. 167.

62. See above n. 6

63. See also *JA*, 1897, s. ix, vol. x, p. 137 ; *JRAS*, 1907, p. 1043, f. n. 2 ; *JA*, 1961, vol. ccxlix, pp. 456-457.

64. CC*ADWK*. pp. xlvii f. and lxxxix.

65 For locations of the territories of these peoples, see Schoff, *Periplus*, pp. 183-184.

66. *Ibid.* ; S. N. Majumdar-Sastri (editor), *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 56-58.

67. M. Wheeler, *Charsada*, pp. 1f ; see also above n. 66. It is interesting to note that the author of the *Periplus* separates Proclais (Pushkalāvatī) from the region of the Gandaraei (Gandhāris), though Indian tradition includes the former within the latter (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, ch. 88, 189-90 ; *Rāmāyaṇa*, vii, 114, 11 ; for an account of the traditional boundaries of Gandhāra, see *PHAI*, pp. 59f and 146f). Probably they were parts of different political units at the time of the collecting of the information by the author of the *Periplus* or by the original informant.

68. See also W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd edition), p. 148, f.n. 4.

69 *PHAI*, p. 473.

70. *DKA*, p. 41, n. 83 ; *CCADWK*, p. lxvii.

71. *PHAI*, p. 483 and f. n. 2.

McCrindle assumed *Sadineis* (*sic*) as the name of a dynasty and wanted to connect it with Sandanes of the *Periplus*. Earlier, Lassen had noted that *Sadanes* should correspond to *sādhana* meaning 'completion' or 'a perfecter' and also 'an agent' or 'a representative'. See McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, pp. 39-40.

72. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Vangavasi Edition), ch. 57, 6 f ; *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Anandasrama edition), ch. 46, 115f; *Bṛihat Saṁhitā*, ch. 14, 2 f ; *DKA*, pp. 45 f ; etc.

73. Renou, *Ptolemy*, p. 3, f.n.

74. Three of such manuscripts belong to the 14th century and three others to the 15th century. And as the form *Sandanorum* cannot be found in manusaripts ascribable to any age prior to the 14th century A.D., our suggestion about the change of form in an early period cannot be lightly brushed aside (see *Ibid.*, pp. VI-VIII, and 6, f.n.).

75 We may note here that in different versions of the *Bible* also we find different forms of one and the same name. Thus *Ophir* of the Hebrew Bible is written as *Sophera* in the Septuagint version.

76. *CCADWK*, p. 45. Though the recorded provenances of the silver coins in question are in Western India, a clay mould of their reverse type with the Brāhmī legend *Iruhaṇasa...putasa hiru Puḷumāvisa* has been discovered during excavations at Nagarjunakonda of Andhra Pradesh (*IA*, *AR*, 1956-57, pl. LXI, no. B). The inscription apparently refers to the Sātavāhana king Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi. Since it is the only known mould of the Sātavāhana species in question, this discovery probably locates at Nagarjunakonda in Eastern Deccan one of the mints for issuing these coins.

77. *Periplus*, sec. 52.

78. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, vol. I, p. 72.

79. *Ptolemy*, VII, 1, 6 and 82 ; McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, pp. 39-45 and 176-179 ; *Our Heritage*, 1963, vol. IX, p. 64.

80. *Ptolemy*, I, 16, 3.

81. McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, pp. 42-43.

82. Hirahadagalli inscription of the early Pallava ruler Śivsakandavarman, l.27 (*EI*, vol. I, p. 6).

83. M. Rama Rao, *List of Published Sātavāhana Coins*, *NNM*. no. 6, p. 1.

84. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

85. *Baleokouros* of Ptolemy's *Geography* (VII, 1, 82) evidently stands for *Viḷivāyakura* of coins (*CCADWK*, pp. 13f ; R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 37 ; *Our Heritage*, 1963, vol XI, p. 67 ; *NC*, 1963, pp. 278-279). Here the syllable *va* has been dropped.

Palimbothra, which appears in different classical texts as the name of an Indian town (Arrian, *Indike*, III, 4 ; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, VI, 91, 11; *Ptolemy*, VII, 1,73 ; etc.), has been convincingly connected with the word *Pāṭaliputra*, denoting in ancient times the Patna region (McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 169). Here the syllable *ṭa* is elided and the sound *m* is inserted.

86. Ptolemy placesbaithano (i.e. Paithan), the capital of Ptolemaios, in Ariake (VII, 1, 82). This Ptolemaios can be identified with Pulumāvi, a name shared by a few monarchs of the Sātavāhana dynasty. Thus our suggestion for associating Ariakes Sadinon with the Sātavāhanas gains further strength.

The word *Ariakes* or *Ariacha* or *Arica* indicates the Indian orginal as *Ariaka*, *Aricha*, or *Arica*. All these forms may be philologically connected with *Āryaka* (*Āryaka* >*Āriyaka* >*Āriaka* >*Ārika* >*Arikha* = *Aricha*), but never with, as already suggested, *Aparāntikā* [Prakrit *Abarātikā* or *Avarāikā* (*IA*, 1878, vol. VII, pp. 259)]. (In this connection see also *JIH*, 1965, vol. XLIII, pp. 693-698 ; 1962, vol. XL, p. 44 ; etc.). The same country is probably alluded to by the name *Āryaka* [i.e. (the land) belonging to the Āryas] occurring in a list of countries and peoples in the *Bṛihat Saṁhitā* (ch. XIV, 15 ; see also *BG*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 540 ; and McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 39). This region may also perhaps have been implicitly assigned to the Āryas in certain passages of ancient Tamil literature. P.T. Srinibas Iyengar, *History of the Tamils From the Earliest Times to 600 A.D.*, p. 318.

It may be noted that the word *Arabikes*, occurring in sec. 41 of the *Periplus*, was emended by Stuck as *Ariakes* (Frisk, *Periplus*, p. 14, f. n. 2). The Indian original of this emended term has been variously taken to be *Lāṭika* (Schoff, *Periplus*, pp. 174-175), or *Aparāntikā* (*IA*, 1878, vol. VII, p. 259), or *Āryaka* (C.Lassen, *Indische Alterthümskunde*, vol. III. p.178, f.n. 1; *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, pp. 73-74 ; *Śakas in India*, p. 37). However, since the Heidelberg University manuscript of the *Periplus* clearly indicates the reading of the intended name to be *Arabikes*, we do not know whether it would be prudent enough to accept the emendment and so any of the suggested Indian bases.

87. *TP*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, p. 168 ; *HHS*, ch. 118 ; B. N. Mukherjee, *The Lower Indus Country, A. D. 1-150*, book I, ch. II (in the press).

88. *TP*, 1905, s. II, vol. VI, pp. 519-520.

89. *AIU*, p. 211 ; *JNSI*, vol. XVII, pt. I, pp. 58 ff ; *Our Heritage*, 1963, vol. XI, p. 67.

90 *EI*, vol. XX, p. 85 ; V. Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* (2nd edition), pp. 10f.

91. *Lymirike* of the *Periplus* (sec. 53 and f) and Ftolemy's *Geography* (VII, I, 8), which has been identified with Draviḍa-deśa of Indian sources (Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 205 ; McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 49), never included Western Deccan within its limits (R. Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of Draviḍian or South-Indian Family of Languages* (3rd edn.), pp. 10-12). It should, however, be noted that a section of the *Mahābhārata*, which locates Draviḍa immediately to the south of the Godāvarī flowing apparently through the Eastern Deccan (III, 118, 3-4), may suggest that occasionally at least a part of the latter zone was included within the northern limits of Draviḍa-deśa. In this connection see also *IA*, 1914 vol. XLIII, p 64.

92. See the section containing the commentary on the *Wei-chih* (ch. 30. p. 29b) in the Po-na edition of the *San-kuo chih*.

93. *BEFEO*, 1906, vol. VI, pp 371-373, f. n. 2.

94. R. C. Majumdar (editor), *History of Bengal*, vol. I, pp. 15-16.

95. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Lower Indus Country, c. A.D. 1-150,* book I, ch. II (in the press). See also *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. LXVII.

96. *NIA*, 1944, vol. VII, p. 90.

97. *Ibid.*

98. *Ibid.*

99. See *Karlgren*, no. 533.

100. *NIA*, 1944, vol. VII, p. 91.

101. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

102. Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Historiarum Alexandri Magni Macedonis*, IX, 2 ; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliothekes Historikes*, XVII, 93 ; etc. ; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XXVI, pls. 11, 39 and 34. Justin included the Praesidae and the Gangaridae in the list of peoples conquered by Alexander (*Epitome*, XII, 8). If they are to be identified respectively with the Prasii and the Gangaridae of other texts, Justin may be considered to have committed an error.

103. See above n. 102. See also *PHAI*, pp. 232-233.

104. *Ibid.*, pp. 233f ; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (editor), *The Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, pp. 11-20 ; *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 83-93.

According to the *Manusaṁhitā* (II, 21), Madhyadeśa is to the west of Prayāga, i.e. Allahabad in U.P. So Prayāga was on the western boundary of the Eastern Division, lying to the east of Madhyadeśa (see *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 83-93). Of all the known limits of the Eastern Country, Prayāga was the westernmost.

105. See above n. 102.

106. *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 83-94. See also above n. 104.

106a. J. C. Quo, *Concise Chinese-English Dictionary*, p. 116; *Karlgren*, no. 533.

107. *Ptolemy*, VII, 2, 13.

108. McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 99.

109. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 39.

110. Renou, *Ptolemy*, pp. vi and 51, f. n.

111. For literary references to the Tuṅgaṇas or Taṅgaṇas, see *JUPHS*, vol. XVII, p. 35. The name of the people in question is spelt as *Tuṅgaṇa* (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, BI edition, LVII, 41), *Tuṅgana* (*Ibid*, BI translation, LVII, 41; p. 323) *Taṅgaṇa* (*Mahābhārata*, III, 141, 24-25) and *Ṭaṅkaṇa* (*Rāmāyaṇa*, IV. 42, 11), etc.

112. Long ago L. Vivien de Saint Martin proposed to identify the Ganganoi with the Taṅgaṇas (*Étude sur la geographie grecque et latin de l'Inde*, pp. 327-378). However, he did not furnish any reason for such an identification.

113. Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Op. cit.*, IX, 2; *Strabo*, XV, 1, 35; etc.

114. In the *Wei-lüeh* the expression *Sha-lu* stands for *Sāriputta* (*TP*, 1905, s. II, vol. VI, p. 546 and f. n. 2). In the *Hou Han-shu* the character *Fo* represents the Buddha (*Ibid*, 1907, s. II. vol. VIII, p. 194). Since the final vowel of a word is often dropped in the popular North Indian pronunciation, *Tuṅgaṇa* may have been pronounced as *Tung*(+) *gan*(+)*a* and also as *Tung*(+)*gan*. *Tung*(+)*gan* may have been represneted in the Chinese as *Tung*.

115. Country of Tung-li should mean the country of *Tuṅgaṇa-vibhāga* or *Tuṅgaṇa-deśa*, almost like the pre-

sent 'state of Uttar Pradesh (the Northern Province)' in modern India.

116. Though Ptolemy's conception of the positions of latitudes and longitudes are basically wrong, they may betray his own idea about relative distances between places (McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, pp. 3f).

117. *NIA*, 1944, vol. VII, p. 92.

118. This conclusion rejects J. Kennedy's suggestion that Tung-li may denote Magadha (*JRAS*, 1912, pp. 679-678).

119. F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, pt. I, p. 77 , f.n. 2

120. *Ibid.*, pt. I, pp. 74-75.

121. The text has *Ka-nikaḥi-rgyal-po,* which has been universally taken to stand for *Ka-ni-ka-rgyal-po*. i.e. 'Kanika, the king' (*Ibid.*, p. 119, f.n. 2 ; W. W. Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 240, f.n. 2 ; etc.).

122. Gu-zan may be placed in the Guchen area. See F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, pt I, p. 119, f. n. 2 ; pt II, pp. 282 f.

123. *Bstan-hgyur*, vol XCIV in the *Mdo* (*sūtra*) section, folio no. 436b ; F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, pt. I, p. 119.

124. See above n. 123.

125. See above n 51.

126 *Taisho Tripiṭaka*, no. 201, ch. IV, p. 287.

127. *JA*, 1896, s. IX, vol. VIII, p. 457.

128. H. Lüders, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, nos. 918, 919, 925, and 327 ; *EI*, vol. VIII. pp. 108f ; *EI*, vol. IX, p. 291.

129. W. W. Rockhill, *Op. cit.*, p. 240, f.n. 2.

130. F. W. Thomas identified Sha-ch'i with Sāketa and

Tung-li with Madhyadeśa. He thought that the Buddhist accounts referred to Kanishka (I)'s conquest of Madhyadeśa with its capitals Sāketa and Pāṭaliputra, and found in the testimonies of Kanishka (I)'s Sahet-Mahet records a proof of his authority over the whole of that country. Hence Thomas concluded that the Chinese passages in question allude to the annexation of Madhyadeśa by Kanishka (I) (*NIA*, vol. VII, pp. 90 and 92). However, we have seen that Tung-li had not necessarily the same limits as those of Madhyadeśa, though the former might have been wholly or partly included within the latter territory. Hence Thomas' conclusion is not acceptable in its entirely.

131. *IHQ*, 1937, vol. XIII, pp. 211-217.

132. Kanishka I's known years range from 2 to 23, corresponding probably to A.D. 79-80 and 100-101 respectively (Chapter IV). Even if the year 11, by which date Chashṭana seems to have begun his rule, is attributed to the era of A.D. 78, it is not imperative to assume that he controlled the Deccan in that year, corresponding to A.D. 88 89 (Chpter IV).

133. Schiefner, *Tāranātha* (text), p. 2 ; Schiefner, *Tāranātha* (translation), p. 2.

134. Since *pāl* means, *inter alia,* 'to govern' (M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1951, p. 622), *pāla* may denote 'governor'.

135. See above n. 133.

CHAPTER III

THE KANISHKA—SĀTAVĀHANA LEGEND

We may now turn our attention to a legend cited by Lévi,[1] but not utilised by him to substantiate his theory of Kanishka (I)'s rule in the Deccan. It occurs in a Chinese treatise called *Yu yang tsa tsu*.

The *Yu yang tsa tsu*[2] was composed by Tuan Ch'eng-che in c. A.D. 860.[3] This book, written in 20 chapters, contains *inter alia* important notices on foreign countries.

In chapter XI of this work occurs a story about Kanishka. H. Huber was of the opinion that the author borrowed this story from the accounts of the embassies of Wang Hsüan-tz'u to India. In favour of such an observation Huber cited the instance of the author's reference in chapter VII to an Indian scholar, in the company of the King of Magadha, brought to the capital of China by Wang Hsüan-tz'u.[4] P. Pelliot admitted the possibility of the author's indebtedness to Wang Hsüan-tz'u, but he was sceptical about any connection between the story of Kanishka and the Indian savant referred to by Huber.[5] Lévi also thought that our author's story was taken from the accounts of Wang Hsüan-tz'u.[6]

While it is impossible to be absolutely certain on this issue, as neither the whole of Wang Hsüan-tz'u's writings has been discovered, nor do the extant fragments preserve the story concerned, there are certain indications which make the theory of indebtedness highly probable. It should be remembered that this story is not known to occur in any Chinese treatise ascribable to a period earlier than that of Wang Hsüan-tz'u. On the other hand, there are definite testimonies, as will be shown presently, to the currency of similar stories in India only after the period of Wang Hsüan-tz'u.[7] Moreover, he is known to have narrated some other stories about a king called Kanishka.[8] Finally, there is an indication, as Huber pointed out, that at least on one occasion Tuan Ch'eng-che used the information supplied by Wang Hsüan-tz'u. Hence it is probable that the story with which we are concerned was brought by Wang Hsüan-tz'u from India, and was later incorporated by Tuan Ch'eng-che in his *Yu yang tsa tsu*. And as Wang Hsüan-tz'u visited India on different occasions about the middle of the 7th century A.D.[9], the story in question was already current at that time.

The story itself is as follows:[10]

'Formerly there reigned in Gandhāra (Kan-to) a worthy and shrewd king ; his name was Kanishka.[11] He led his armies against all nations ; none resisted him. Once, during his campaign in India (T'ien-chu) (literally five Indies[12]), some one presented him two very fine fabrics. He kept one (for himself), and bestowed the other on his queen. The queen clothed herself (with it), and came forward before the king.

Now on the fabric, just over the breast of the queen, appeared the imprint of a hand in saffron (colour). At the sight of this the king grew angry, and demanded of the queen 'what does the robe, put on by you, signify, and what does the mark of a hand convey ?' The Queen said to him 'this is the same cloth which the king has given me.' Furious, the king demanded an explanation from his treasurer, who replied to him 'a piece of this stuff always carries this mark. Your bondsman is not here for nothing.' And the king ordered the merchant, (who) had sold (the cloth to the buyer who had presented it to the king), to appear (before him) ; the latter (i. e. the merchant) said, 'in South India reigns king Sātavāhana (So-t'o-p'o-hen) ; and here (is one) who can fulfil his vow, made previously ; every year he accumulates, one upon the other, fine fabrics brought to him as taxes ; he imprints his hands, wetted in saffron, on these stuffs, and this imprint penetrates through all the pieces heaped up in thousands and tens of thousands. In whatever way a man may put on one of these cloths, the mark of the hand will appear on his back ; and (it appears) over the breast if it is (worn by) a female.'

The king ordered the personnel of his retinue to put on (the pieces) themselves, and it (was) as the merchant had said. Sriking on his sword, the king cried out, 'I (won't) sleep or (take) rest before I cut off the hands and feet of King Sātavāhana'. And he despatched a messenger to South India to demand the hands and feet of king (Sātavāhana).

On the arrival of the messenger, king

Sātavāhana and his minister spoke to him falsely that 'we have a good king who has the name *Sātavāhana* ; but this is not an actual king ; nevertheless, the power and the supreme authority are in the hands of us, the ministers.'

On (hearing) that, the king (i.e. kanishka) ordered his cavalry and elephants to go down to the South, against the kingdom of (king) Sātavāhana.

The inhabitants concealed king (Sātavāhana) in an underground cave ; and then cast in gold (a statue of) a man which went (i.e. was taken) to meet the invader. But the king (i.e. Kanishka) recognised the forgery, and, relying on the strength of his previous merits, he cut off the arms and the legs of the man (i.e. the statue) of gold. At the same moment fell off the two arms and (the two) legs of king Sātavāhana, hidden in the cave.

Similar stories about rivalry having been caused by the appearance of a certain imprint on merchandise are also preserved in some early mediaeval texts. To this category should belong the well-known Persian work called the *Mujmmalu-t Tawārīkh.*[13] The chapter in which the story in question occurs seems to contain a chronicle of the Sind region. It originally belonged to a book written in the 'Hinduwani language' (Sanskrit ?). The latter was translated into Arabic and Persian. The translation into the latter language was done in 417 A.H., i.e. A.D. 1026.[14] Though the date of the original Indian text is not known,[15] there is no doubt that the story concerned originated sometime before the date of its translation into Persian, i.e. A.D. 1026.

This story speaks of a king called Hāl, i.e. Hāla. It appears from the context that Sind was included in his dominions.[16] His country exported fine cloths stamped with the impression of one of his feet. The king of Kashmīr (i.e., Kāśmīra) became furious on seeing the impression on the garment worn by his queen. On hearing from the merchant, who had sold the cloth, that the stamp was an impression of one of Hāl's (i.e. Hāla's) feet, he (the king of Kashmīr) swore to cut off that limb of Hāl. So the king of Kashmīr marched against king Hāl. The latter was alarmed. He played a trick by placing an elephant in front of the battle field. When the soldiers of the king of Kashmīr advanced, flames burst out from it and burnt many of them. So the king of Kashmīr was compelled to sue for peace, at the conclusion of which he was given many presents by Hāl. In order to fulfil his oath the former cut off the legs of an image of wax, and then returned to his country.[17]

Certain similarities between these two stories may be noticed. The Chinese story is earlier than the Persian ; and in the latter it is possible to find an echo of the former. In the king of Kāśmīra we may recognise Kanishka, for a Kanishka is recorded in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* as the king of that country.[18] Hāl = Hāla appears in the Puraṇic lists as the name of an Andhra (Sātavāhana) monarch.[19] It is, however, not necessary to conclude that this particular Sātavāhana king is intended here. The term *Hāla* may be the same as *Sāla*, as *sa* is actually noted to have changed into *ha* in certain legends on Sātavāhana coins from the Deccan.[20] This *Sāla* may be an abbreviated form of *Sālāhaṇa*, and the latter a Prakrit form of the name *Sātavāhana*.[21] So *Hāla* may here denote a Sātavāhana monarch.

It should, however, be noted that there is no evidence of the Sātavāhana occupation of the whole of Sind. Nevertheless, some data, which will be discussed presently, may be interpreted as betraying at least their temporary political or military success in some areas in or near Sind. It is not impossible that the memory of such an association was in course of time distorted enough to appear to an uncritical chronicler of Sind as indicating the Sātavāhana authority over the whole of the Sind region. And as a writer of the chronicle of Sind he was probably also reluctant to allow the king of Kashmīr to score a victory over Hāl, who was supposed to have been a ruler of Sind. Such twisting of a current legend was a commonplace in early and mediaeval times.

A similar story was narrated in Al Bīrūnī's *Tahqīq-i-Hind*, mainly based on materials collected from A.D. 1017 to 1030 and written sometime in or before his death in 1048.[22] According to Al Bīrūnī, this legend was related by the people. It refers to King Kanik, the builder of the *vihāra* of Purushwar (i.e. Peshawar). The king of Kanoj (or Kanauj) presented him with a fine piece of cloth. On this, however, was imprinted one foot of a man. Kanik took it as an insult. He led his army against the king of Kanoj. As the latter was not strong enough to resist the invasion, his minister played a trick. He multilated his nose and lips, and met Kanik with the complaint that the King of Kanoj had caused this injury. The minister offered to show Kanik a shorter route across a desert, which would lead to a place where the king of Kanoj had been hiding.

The minister, however, purposely misled the army in the desert. Scarcity of water seems to have caused great inconvenience to Kanik's army. Kanik now realised the minister's mischief. However, he procured sufficient water for his troops by thrusting his spear into the desert.

The minister then thought that it would be futile on his part to play any further trick on such a powerful monarch. He requested Kanik to pardon the king of Kanoj. Kanik set him free and told him that his master had already received his deserved reward. Then Kanik returned. The minister also went back to his master, only to learn that the latter's hands and feet had fallen off exactly when Kanik thrust his spear into the desert.[23]

Kanik, the builder of the *vihāra* of Peshawar, is obviousiy Kanishka I, to whom this act of merit seems to have been ascribed by epigraphic as well as literary sources.[24] As Al Bīrūnī heard this narrative much later than the latest possible date for the origin of the legend eoncerning similar exploits of a king also called Kanishka, it would be fair to suppose that the story-teller of Al Bīrūnī's age had the latter story in mind, but referred to the king of Kanauj in place of king Sātavāhana. Probably by the time of Al Bīrūnī the name *Sātavāhana* was comparatively unfamiliar, whereas Kanoj or Kanauj was too well-known a city in contemporary

India[25] to be excluded from any current interesting historical legend.

All these stories thus share the same peculiar feature,—a quarrel over an imprint on a cloth. Again, at least one of the two principal characters may be the same in all the legends. Two refer to the name *Kanishka*—one stating its variant *Kanik*—and the third mentions the King of Kashmir, a phrase by which a monarch called Kanishka, cited in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, could have been denoted. The name king *Sātavāhana* is expressly referred to by one legend and indicated by another.

These considerations tempt one to suggest that all these legends evolved out of a common prototype. And since the Chinese one is the earliest attested (c. 650 A.D.), it itself is the original legend or at least is likely to be closer to the original than either of the other two. Since this Chinese version deals with the rivalry between Kanishka and King Sātavāhana, the original story, if it is not the Chinese one, may also have dealt with the same monarchs.[26]

It appears that a story concerning the rivalry between a monarch called Kanishka and King Sātavāhana was current in North India from a fairly early period (at the latest from c. A.D. 650). It no doubt contained, as did many legends having a historical basis, some miraculous and fictitious elements, such as dismembering of enemy's body by cutting off parts of a gold statue, etc. Different modified forms of this legend were later adopted by subsequent writers of early mediaeval times. These alterations were the results either of deliberate distortions by story-tellers and writers to suit their own ends, or of gradual, but natural, corruptions of legends, or of both. Nevertheless, the very existence of these modifications indicates that the original story, concerning the rivalry between a ruler called Kanishka and king Sātavāhana, was popular in North India.

However, there cannot be any question of accepting the whole of the legend, even if it was popular, as a part of sober, history. For we cannot deny the possibility of the growth of a purely imaginary legend even about a strictly historical figure. Nevertheless, when a popular story corroborates information already gathered from reliable contemporary sources, the central theme of that legend may be accepted as having some historial basis.

As we have already noted above, Kanik, the hero of Al Bīrūnī's story, was the same as Kanishka I. Hence Kanishka, the central figure of the cognate Chinese legend, may also have been the first Kushāṇa monarch of that name.

The expression *Sātavāhana* is known to have been used as the appellation of a royal family,[27] as the personal name of one or two members of that dynasty,[28] and as signifiying the surname of one of its rulers having a separate forename.[29] The word concerned can also be traced in territorial names.[30] In the Chinese story the term *Sātavāhana* obviously denotes a person. Hence it may mean a scion of the Sātavāhana family, having this or a separate appellation as his personal name.

The Kushāṇa monarch Kanishka I's rule of at least 23 years probably began in A.D. 78[31] (Chapter IV). Our discussion in the next chapter will try to establish that the majority, if not all, of the 24 known regnal years of the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi should be placed in the last quarter of the 1st century A.D. It may also have been possible that he did not cease to rule before the first decade of the 2nd century A.D. (Chapter IV). On the other hand, his son and successor, Vāśisṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, ascended the throne sometime in the closing years of the 1st century A.D. or in the first decade of the 2nd century A.D. He was the sovereign head of the Sātavāhana state for at least up to sometime of the 24th year of his reign and also for the greater part of the first quarter of the 2nd century A.D.[32] (Chapter IV).

These hypotheses suggest that either Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was the Sātavāhana contemporary or both he and his son Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi were the Sātavāhana contemporaries of Kanishka I. Hence, if there is any historical core of the Chinese legend, the last mentioned king clashed either with the father or with the son.

There are indeed areas of possible contact between Kanishka I and the Sātavāhanas. The Nasik inscription of the year 19 of Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi describes Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi as one "who crushed down the pride and conceit of the Khatiyas" (*Khatiya-dapa-māna-madana*).[33] Miss B. Ghosh has very convincingly argued that the Khatiyas should be identified with the Xathroi of Alexander's historians, the

Khatriaioi of Ptolemy and the Kshatriya tribe of some ancient Indian sources.[34]

According to the *Geography* of Ptolemy, some of the cities of the Khatriaioi were to the west of the Indus and some to the east of that river. One such locality was Soudassana.[35] The latter is presumably the same as Sadūsān, placed by Ibn Haukal in Sind and apparently to the west of the Indus.[36] Hence the Khatriaioi of Ptolemy may be located in the same area.[37]

Ptolemy's *Geography,* which refers to the Khatriaioi, may be dated to c. A. D. 150 or to any year (or years) between c. A. D. 141 and his death sometime in the period ranging from c. A. D. 161 to 185 (Appendix III).[38] And if he was not hopelessly out of date in his information on the Khatriaioi, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, a king of the last quarter of the 1st. century A. D. (and the first decade of the 2nd century A. D. ?), might have humiliated the Khatriaioi somewhere in Sind.

In this connection we may refer to another passage of the above mentioned Nasik epigraph. It describes him as the lord, *inter alia*, of the Parichāta (mountain), and of Aparaṁta, Kukura, Suraṭha, Ākara and Avaṁti.[39] The Parichāta or Pāriyātra "corresponds to the portion of the modern Vindhya range west of Bhopal, together with the Aravalli mountains."[39a] Aparaṁta or Aparānta may have included North Konkan and the Nasik and Poona districts.[40] The identification of Kukura is not certain.[41] At least we cannot follow D. C. Sircar's theory connecting it with North Kathiawad.[42] For, the Junagadh inscription of c. A. D. 149-150 refers to Kukura in addition to mentioning Ānartta, comprising generally North Kathiawad and thereabouts,[43] and Surāshṭra, including at least South Kathiawad.[44] In fact, Suraṭha or Surāshṭra of the Nasik record may denote, *inter alia*, the whole of Kathiawad. Gautamīputra Sātakraṇi's rule in the Aravalli region, North Konkan and nearby territories, and also in South Kathiawad (definitely a part of Surāshṭra), implies his authority over the adjoining area including North Kathiawad. But in the list of the provinces of Gautamīputra's kingdom there does not appear any name which indicates North Kathiawad alone. Nor can we confidently place in the same region any of the mountains, of which he has been described as "lord"[45] and at least a part of each of which may have been in his dominions.[46]

This difficulty can be solved only by assuming a wider connotation for the term *Suraṭha* or *Surāshṭra* of the Nasik epigraph. The statements of certain classical sources also bear out the feasibility of such a geographical connotation. The *Periplus* of the 1st century A. D. (Appendix II) defined Syrastrene as forming the coastal region of Arabica, of which the inland portion called Iberia bordered on Scythia.[47] The latter territory, which was on sea and through which the Sinthus (i. e. the Indus) flowed into the ocean,[48] apparently included at least a part of the country on the lower Indus.[49] Arabica itself marked "the commencement of the Kingdom of Manbanos and of the whole of India."[50] And since in some classical accounts the Indus was noted as forming the western boundary of India,[51] Syrastrene or the littoral Arabica might have extended in the west at least up to or near the easternmost mouth of that river.[52] Ptolemy even described Syrastrene as situated "about the mouths of the Indus and the gulf of Kanthikos"[53] (i. e. the gulf of Kutch).[54]

The name *Syrastrene* was certainly based on the term *Surāshṭra.*[55] Hence the testimonies of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy may be considered to suggest that Surāshṭra was not always confined to South Kathiawad and might have sometimes stretched at least up to or near the easternmost mouth of the Indus and so obviously incorporated North Kathiawad. As Manbanos (Manbanus) or Nahapāna,[56] the lord of Syrastrene, was exterminated by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[56a] (Chapter IV), the latter might have annexed the coastal area up to or near the Indus. Thus Surāshṭra under the Sātavāhana monarch could possibly have included parts of south-easternmost Sind or areas lying near it.

The Kushāṇa authority in the region of modern Sind is well attested. The *Hou Han-shu* speaks of the conquest of T'ien-chu or Shen-tu by the Yüeh-chih and the Kushāṇa monarch Yen-Kao-chen,[57] or V'ima Kadphises.[58] The topographical description of this territory indicates that it included the ancient Sindhu country to the west of the lower Indus and perhaps also parts of the land to the east of the same section of that river.[59] The Kushāṇa hegemony in the lower Indus area might have been acknowledged at least up to sometime in the reign of Vāsudeva I.[60]

This indicates the rule of Kanishka I, the successor of V'ima and a predecessor of Vāsudeva I (Appendix I), in this region.

Another piece of evidence may perhaps testify to Kanishka I's hold over at least parts of the territories near or on the lower Indus. In the ruined *stūpa* of Sui Vihar, situated about sixteen miles to the south-west of the town of Bahawalpur, was found a copper plate inscription dated in the 11th year of (the reign of) king Kanishka.[61] The date apparently refers to the Kanishka Era.[62] And as Kanishka I reigned from the year 1 to the year 23 of that reckoning, he should be identified with the monarch mentioned in this epigraph.[63] Its provenance further suggests that in the 11th year of Kanishka I's reign the Sui Vihar area was within the Kushāṇa empire.

Sui Vihar is not far from the possible northern limits of ancient Sauvīra, which in the early centuries of the Christian Era was on the eastern side of the lower Indus and included at least parts of the territory later annexed to the British province of Sind.[64] Hence the provenance of the inscription in question may perhaps also allude to Kanishka I's influence in or near the northern zone of the lower Indus region.

These premises tend to mark out the area now known as Sind as one of the possible regions of contact between Kanishka I and the Sātavāhana monarch Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi or his son Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi. We must, however, admit that the inferences from the above premises are not altogether flawless. It is not absolutely certain that Ptolemy's information on the habitat of the Khatriaioi (in the territory now included in Sind) is datable or applicable to the period of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Again, as geographical or political boundaries of a country vary in different ages, the western limits of Suraṭha, i. e. Surāshṭra, under this Sātavāhana sovereign, may not have been the same as those of Syrastrene, i. e. Surāshṭra, mentioned by the *Periplus* or by Ptolemy. This observation holds good, even if one argues that Suraṭha or Surāshṭra in the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi had transcended its natural frontiers. Moreover, we have no definite reason to suggest that Kanishka I's rule extended to some areas to the south-east of and not far from the eastern limits of modern Sind, which acknowledged the supremacy of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.[65]

These uncertain factors need not necessarily be faced in suggesting another possible zone of contact between Kanishka I and the Sātavāhanas. We are referring to Ākara, which, in the early centuries of the Christian Era, certainly included the land now called Eastern Malwa.[66]

As we have noted above, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi was the 'lord' of this Ākara.[67] In the heart of Eastern Malwa is Sanchi, Kākanāda or Kākanāda-boṭa of some early Indian epigraphs.[68]

Here excavations have yielded an inscription, engraved in Kushāṇa Brāhmī on the pedestal of an image of the Buddha.[69] The epigraph is dated in the year 22 of King Vaskushāṇa (*rājño Vaskushāṇasya*).[70] It is impossible to deny the existence of the name

Kushāṇa in the expression *Vaskushāṇa*. So it may be taken for granted that the inscription of the year 22 refers, as do all epigraphs mentioning Kushāṇa monarchs and dated in any year below 100, to the era of Kanishka I.[71] The only ruler who could have ruled in the year 22 of this reckoning and whose name could have been corrupted into *Vaskushāṇa* was Vāsishka Kushāṇa. In fact, this suggestion has already been made.[71a]

The same king is mentioned in another record from Sanchi, inscribed in Kushāṇa Brāhmī on the pedestal of a Boddhisattva statue. The epigraph notes the dedication of the image and a shrine in the Dharmadeva monastery in the year 28 of (Mahārājā) Rājātirāja Devaputra Vāsashka.[72] The form Vāsashka is a mistake for or a variant of the name *Vāsishka*.[73]

It is only natural to suggest that these inscriptions indicate the authority of the Kushāṇas over the Sanchi area, Eastern Malwa or Ākara, at least during the years 22 to 28[74] apparently of the Kanishka Era. Since Kanishka I reigned at least until the year 23, Vaskushāṇa or Vāsishka Kushāṇa was his co-ruler in the year 22.[75] Hence the region in the heart of Ākara was annexed to the Kushāṇa empire before the end of Kanishka I's rule.

Thus in the land of Ākara Kanishka I could have clashed with the Sātavāhana sovereign Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, the 'lord of Ākara'. It is also not unlikely that Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, who inherited Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's dominions, was the Sātavāhana rival of Kanishka I.[76]

The existence of these possible areas of contact indicates that the legend, bereft of its fanciful elements like the miraculous death of king Sātavāhana, may have a definite historical core. This, no doubt, lends historical colour to the Chinese or the earliest of the known legends and suggests that either it or its still earlier prototype was inspired by a historical fact.[77] Nevertheless, as both the possible zones of contact lay outside the Deccan, the legends never prove the advent of the Kushāṇa power in the Deccan in the time of Kanishka I.[78]

NOTES

1. *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 98.
2. The text of the *Yu Yang tsa tsu* is preserved in the *Tsin tai pi shu*, the *Pai hai*, the *Hio tsin t'ao yüan* and certain other Chinese works. There is also an independent edition published in A. D. 1608 by Li Yun-Kou. For a list of these treatises, see *TP*, 1912, s. II, vol. XIII, p. 378. n. 4.
3. Wylie placed the *Yu yang tsa tsu* at the end of the 8th century A. D. (A. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 155). This date was generally accepted by Sinologists (See G. Schlegel, *TP*, 1892, vol. III, p. 128, f. n. 1 ; E. Chavannes, *Die Inscriptions de l' Asie Centrale*, p. 46 ; *TP*, 1905, s. II, vol. VI, p. 549 ; B. Laufer, *Chinese Poetry*, pp. 236-239 ; Ed. Huber, *BEFEO*, 1906, vol. VI, p. 38). P. Pelliot, who first believed in A. Wylie's suggestion (*BEFEO*, 1906, vol. VI, p. 376, f. n. 1), later proved it to be wrong. P. Pelliot also furnished very good reasons

for placing the date of composition of our work in c. A. D. 860 (*TP*, 1912, s. II, vol. XIII, pp. 374-375, f. n.). S. Lévi accepted the latter date (*JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 98).

4. *BEFEO*, 1906, p. 38 ; ch. VIII, p. 7 of the reprint of the *Yu yang tsa tsu* in the *Ts' in tai pi shu.*

5. "Que la relation de Wang Hiuan-tsö ait fourni a Touan Tch'eng-che le texte sur Kanishka et Satavahana, c'est fort possible. Mais l'argument tiré de la mention du savant indien est sans valeur. Le seul lien qu'il y ait entre son histoire et le voyage de Wang Hiuan-ts'ö est qui c'est Wang Hiuan-tsö qui le ramena de l'Inde en 684, en meme temps qu'A-lo-na-chouen. Mais tout l'episode que reconte Touan Tch'eng-che se passe a´ Tcha´ng-ngan, a´ la capitale des T'ang, postérieurement au retour de Wang Hiuan-t'sö, et il n'y a pas de raison pour que cet épisode ait é'é inséré dans sa narration ; en tout cas, on le connaissait sans elle `a Tch'ang-ngan." (*TP*, 1912, s. II, vol. XIII, p. 375).

6. *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 98.

7. *JA*, 1900, s. IX, vol. XV, p. 297, f. n. Wang Hsuan-tzu visited India in A. D. 643, in A. D. 646-648 and again in A. D. 657 (R. C. Majumdar (editor), *Classical Age*, pp. 120-21, 137 and 610).

8. *TP*, 1912, s. VI, vol. XIII, pp. 307-309.

9. See above n. 7.

10. Chapter V, p. 5 of the reprint of the work in the *Ts'in tai pi shu.* See also *BEFEO*, 1906, vol. VI, p. 38 ; *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 98.

11. The text has *Kia-tang* or *Kia-che-kia tang*. Huber has very correctly amended it as *Kia-ni-che-kia* (*BEFEO*, 1906, vol. VI, p. 38). S. Lévi accepted the reading *Kia-ni-sö kia* (*JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 98).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

12. The term "Five Indies" means five regions—north, south, east, west and central—of India, and thereby indicates the whole of India. See also *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 98.
13. H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians*, vol. I, pp. 100 ff; *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, pp. 100-101.
14 About the chapter in question the author of the the *Mujmalu-t Twārīkh* observed that "I have seen an ancient book of the Hindus which Abu Salih bin Sha'aib bin Jāmi translated into the Arabic from the Hindwani language. This work was translated into Persian in 417 A. H. (1026 A. D.) by Abu-l Hasan 'Ali bin Muhammad al Jili.........I have here introduced the (account of the) origin of the king and short history of them, and I have copied it because it is not to be found anywhere else". (H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 100-101).
15. Reinaud was of the opinion that the original Sanskrit (?) work had been written about the commencement of the Christian Era, long prior to the date of composition of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and probably even before that of the *Mahābhārata*. H. M. Elliot did not contradict this opinion and only noted the similarity between certain passages of the great epic and some extracts from the *Mujamalu-t Tawārīkh* (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 101). There is, however, no real basis for the whole of this opinion. As the Persian translation of the Indian original was done in A. D. 1026, the latter was no doubt long before the date of the *Rājataraṅginī*. This is all that can be said with certainty. The similarity between certain parts of this work and those of the great epic may be due to the author of the former's knowledge of the latter.
16. Hāl is connected with the family of the mythical Jandrat, or Jayadratha of the epic fame. (*Ibid.*, vol. I,

p. 107). Hāl is described as the inheritor of the possessions of Jandrat and his descendants (*Ibid.*). Jandrat is said to have been a ruler of Sind (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 104). So Sind should also be supposed to have been under Hāl.

17. *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 106-108.
18. M. A. Stein, (editor), *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅginī*, book I, vol. I, p. 8.
19. *DKA*, p. 41.
20. *CCADWK*, p. 45. On some of Yajñaśrī's coins from Western India the phrase *Siri Yaña Sātakaṇi* has been changed into *Hiru Yaña Hātakaṇi.*
21. *Mélanges d' Indianisme Offerts Par Ses Élèves A M. Sylvain Lévi, pp 6-7* ; *Sālāhaṇammi Halo* (Hemachandra, *Deśīnāmamālā*, VIII, 66).
22. E. C. Sachau, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations,* pp. VIII-IX ; E. C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, vol. I, p. XVI.
23. E. C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, vol. II, pp. 11-13 ; *BEFEO*, 1906, vol. VI, p. 38.
24. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 137 ; *Kao seng Fa-hsien Chuan, Taisho Tripiṭaka*, vol. LI, no. 2085, p. 858 ; *Hsi-yü-chi, Taisho Tripiṭaka*, vol. LI, no. 2087, p. 879 ; *British Museum Quarterly*, 1964, vol. XXVIII, pp. 41-42.
25. R. C. Majumdar (editor), *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 38 ; R. C. Majumdar (editor), *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 50.
26. Kalhaṇa, who composed the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in c. A.D. 1148-1149 (M. A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa*'s *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. I, p. 15), narrated a similar legend concerning Mihirakula, the king of Kāśmīra and a monarch of Siṁhala. Once Mihirakula became angry on noticing a foot print on the garment covering the breast of his queen. He learnt that this cloth came from Siṁhala and was marked with the imprint of a foot of its king. Thereupon Mihirakula led an expedition against the

sovereign of Siṁhala, and replaced the latter by another man (M. A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī* (text), book I, vv. 294-299 ; M. A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇi*, vol. I, p. 35 ; *JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 101).

The peculiar feature of this story—the struggle caused by the appearance of the imprint of a foot—is so similar to those of the three other legends that it seems there may have been some relation between them. At least S. Lévi appeared to have thought so (*JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 101).

It may appear that during the period of more than a hundred years that elapsed between the dates of the *Tahqiq-i-Hind* and of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* the association of the name *Kanishka* with this particular kind of stories was forgotten. It is not impossible that Kalhaṇa or his informant brought into the legend the names of Mihirakula, the king of Kāśmīra, and the monarch of Siṁhala or Ceylon, lying very near to South India, probably because he had a vague recollcetion of the association of this type of legends with one king of Kāśmīra and another from the South. In fact, Kalhaṇa referred to a Kanishka as a king of Kāśmīra (M. A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī* (text), book I, v. 168 ; M. A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. I, p. 8), and the Sātavāhanas ruled in South India.

There may, however, be an objection to the above interpretation. Neither of the two principal characters of the Chinese story appears in the present legend. And this makes us suspicious of the value of associating the latter with the cycle of the Kanishka-Sātavāhana legends. At least, in the present state of our knowledge, it is better not to postulate such an association.

27. *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 60.

28. *ASWI*, vol. v, p. 64 ; *JNSI*, 1960, vol. xxii, pp. 138 f. It is not necessary to ascribe the coins bearing the name of Sātavāhana to more than one king (*Indian Studies Past and Present*, 1965, pp. 65-66).
29. *ASWI*, vol. v, p. 64 ; *JA*, 1936, vol. ccxviii, pp. 66 ff.
30. *EI*, vol. i, p. 6.
31. *PHAI*, pp. 465 f ; *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 1963, vol. xx, pp. 229 f ; *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, January, 1967, vol. ii, no. 1, p. 4 ; D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 258 f etc.
32. In this connection see also the arguments of K. Gopalachari (*Early History of the Andhra Country*, pp. 54-55) ; M. Rama Rao (*PIHC*, 1948, p. 72); G. V. Rao (*EHDY*, pp. 104-105) ; etc.
33. *EI*, vol. viii, p. 60.
34. *Indian Culture*, 1934, vol. i, pp. 512-515. See Arrian, *Anabasios Alexandrou*, vi, 15 ; *Ptolemy*, vii, i, 64 ; J. W. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 156.

In this connection we may refer to the word *Kathika* appearing in an inscription on a casket found within an earthen pot in a stūpa at Devnimori in the Sabarkantha district of Gujarat state (*Indian Archaeology*, 1962-63, *A Review*, p. 8 ; *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, 1962, vol. xii, pp. 172-73). The epigraph records *inter alia* the erection of a stūpa, apparently the same one where it is found, and the making of the casket itself. The term *Kathika* occurs in the section which fixes the date of the erection of the stūpa "on the 5th day of the month of Bhādrapada in the year 127 of the Kathika kings, and when the illustrious Rudrasena was the ruling monarch" [*Saptā(pta)vimśaty=adhike Kathika-nripāṇāṁ samāgate=bda-śate* (I*) *Bha(Bhā)drapada-paṁchama-dine nṛipatau śrī-Rudrasene cha* (II*)] (*Journal of the Oriental Insti-* , 1965, vol. xiv, p. 336).

R. N. Mehta and S. N. Chowdhary identify Rudrasena with Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena I of the family of Rudradāman (I) and refer the year 127 to the Śaka Era of A. D. 78, known to have been used on coins und in several inscriptions of the Western Kshatrapas. According to these scholars, Rudrasena, Rudradāman (I), etc., were known as Kathikas. (*Ibid*, 1962, vol. XII, p 172). D. C. Sircar, following R. N. Mehta and S. N. Chowdhary, identifies Rudrasena with Rudrasena I and attributes the year 127 to the Śaka Era. He thinks that the Śaka (Kshatrapa) rulers of Western India used the era of their overlords, who were the Kushāṇas. Hence the reckoning mentioned here as that of the Kathika Kings should equate the Kathikas with the Kushāṇas. As the term *Kathika* means "a preacher of the Buddhist faith". it may denote Kanishka (I) and some of his successors, who were great patrons of Buddhism (*Ibid*, 1965, vol. XIV, p. 387).

The year 127 has been ascribed by V. V. Mirashi to the so-called Kalachuri-Chedi Era of A. D. 248-249. He is of the opinion that Rudrasena, who is not described in the Devnimori inscription as a Kshatrapa or a Mahākshatrapa, was not one of the Western Kshatrapas. His name ending (*sena*) may connect him with the family of Ābhīra Īśvarasena of a Nasik inscription, whom V. V. Mirashi considers as the founder of the era of A. D. 248-249. The same scholar suggests that *Kathika* may well have been the family name of the Ābhīras (*Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, 1965, vol. III, pp. 103-104).

Sounder Rajan also attributes the year 127 to the reckoning of A. D. 248-49 (*Journal of the Gujrat Research Society*, vol. XXV, p. 289). On the other hand, S. Sankaranarayanan (*Journal of the Oriental Institute*, 1965, vol. XV, pp. 72-73) and K. F. Sompura (*Ibid*, pp. 64-65) differentiate the era concerned from ail known ones, and assign Rudrasena to the Kathika lineage.

According to the latest results of the excavations at Devnimori, the main portion of the stūpa is ascribable to a single period of construction. (*Indian Archaeology*, 1962-63, *A Review*, p. 8 ; *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, 1965, vol. XIV, p. 339). There is at least nothing to support D. C. Sircar's surmise that the "construction of the stūpa was begun in 205 A. D, but was abandoned and was again taken up and completed after a century" (*Journal of the Oriental Institute*. 1965, vol. XIV, p. 339). No doubt, a similar theory suggesting the original erection in c. A. D. 205 and rebuilding towards the end of the 3rd century A. D. was put forward after a preliminary stndy of the stūpa (*Ibid*. 1962, vol. XII, p. 175). This has now been proved to be wrong (*Ibid*. 1965, vol. XIV, p. 339).

It is significant, in the light of the above information, that while the stone casket in question was discovered at a level of about 3·65 m. below the top, a pot containing eight silver coins of the Kshatrapa period was found at a depth of about 7·31 m. from the highest point of the cylinder of the stūpa. (*Indian Archaeology*, 1962-63, *A Review*, p. 8). Their relative positions and the available data regarding the construction of the stūpa surely indicate that the casket cannot be dated earlier than the coins.

Among these coins are two pieces of Kshatrapa Viśvasena, who ruled from the year (206 (?) or) 215 to the year 226 (of the Śaka Era), i e. from A. D. 292-3 to 303-4 (*ASI, AR*, 1913-14, p. 204). This means that the casket could not have been placed within the stūpa before the rule of Viśvasena. Hence the year 127, mentioned in the casket inscription as the date of the construction of the stūpa, cannot be attributed to the Śaka Era used by Viśvasena.

If the year 127 is referred to the reckoning of A. D. 248 49, the resultant date will be A. D. 375-76. The Western satrapal ruler Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena III is known to have been reigning in that year in Western India (*CCADWK*, pp. 179 f. and CXIIV), where is Devnimori (called in the inscription as Paśāntika-palli). In fact, his coins have been found in the vicinity of the stūpa at Devnimori. It is also noteworthy that the casket inscription explicitly refers to one King Rudrasena as reigning at the time of the construction of the stūpa.

These considerations tend to refer the year 127 to the era of A. D. 248-49 and to identify Rudrasena of the casket inscription with Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena III. No doubt, it may be argued that the dates on the coins of the Chashṭana and the succeeding Kshatrapas of Western India are ascribable to the era of A. D. 78 and not to that of A. D. 248-49. (See also *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, 1965, vol. xv, p. 64). This criticism is not unanswerable, since we have examples of the use of the Mālava Era in the Mandasor region after its inclusion within the empire of the Guptas (*SI*, p. 295), even though the latter had their own system of reckoning. In fact, the Mewasa inscription of the time of the Kshatrapas of Western India is dated in the era of A. D. 248-49 and is referrable to the reign of Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena III (*JRAS*, 1961, pp. 109-111).

We cannot entertain V. V. Mirashi's objection to the identification of Rudrasena III with Rudrasena of casket inscription on the ground of the absence of the title *Kshatrapa* or *Mahākshatrapa* before his name. (*Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, 1965, vol. III, p. 104). (See also *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, 1965, vol. xv, p. 70). Neither of these designations appear before the names of the Western satrapal rulers Chashṭana and Rudradāman (I) in the Andhau epigraphs of the year 52 (*EI*, vol. XVI, pp. 23 f.).

It is equally difficult to support V. V. Mirashi's other attempt to relate Rudrasena to the family of Ābhīra Īśvarasena, whom he considers as the founder of the era of A. D. 248 49, and who had name ending in *-sena*. (*Visveshvaranand Indological Journal*, 1965, vol. III, pp. 103-164). The expression *sena* appears in names of several Kshatrapa rulers. It is also not certain whether Ābhīra Īśvarasena and none else initiated the era of A. D. 248-49.

Even if one accepts Ābhīra Īśvarasena as its inaugurator, it will not be necessary to assign Rudrasena to his family. For the epigraph simply states that the stūpa was erected in the year 127 of the Kathika Kings and during the reign of King Rudrasena. It never indicates that the name *Kathika* denotes his family or the dynasty of an overlord. If Rudrasena is taken to have been the same as Rudrasena III of the family of Chashṭana, and if Mahākshatrapa Rudra... of a Kanheri record is identifiable with Rudradāman I, the ruling dynasty may be considered to have been known as Kārddamaka. (*ASWI*, vol. v, p. 78 ; *CCADWK*, p. LI). There is at least no reason for connecting Rudrasena with the Kathikas.

As the year 127 cannot by assigned to the Śaka Era, the reckoning of the Kathikas should not be equated with that of Kanishka I, during whose reign the era of A. D. 78 may have been initiated. It is indeed fantastic to suggest that the era of tne Kushāṇas was known by the name *Kathika*, and not by their own name, simply because some of them were patrons of Buddhism.

Similarly, it is not imperative to connect the name *Kathika*, with the Ābhīras, even if the latter were associated with the era of A. D. 248-49. The Devnimori inscription only shows that in the region concerned a reckoning was known as that of the Kathika kings in its 127th year. It could have been designated by other names before and after that date. For a parallel example we can refer to the era of 58 B. C., which was called Azes Era, Mālava Era, Vikrama Era, etc., in different periods.

Thus the Devnimori inscription does not describe the Kshatrapas, the Kushāṇas or the Ābhīras as Kathika Kings (In this connection see also *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, 1966, vol. xv, pp. 66 f.). It alludes to the rule of Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena III in the 127th year of the era of A.D. 248-49. [This is also the revised opinion of R. N. Mehta and S. N. Chowdhary (R. N. Mehta and S. N. Chowdhary, *Excavation at Devnimori*, p. 28)]. The Devnimori epigraph also indicates that the Kathika rulers inaugurated or used that era.

It appears that in Western India there was a Kathika family or tribe, who ruled for some time (in or) before A.D. 375-76. If they can be identified with the Kathaeans, located by Alexander's historians between or "on the far side of" the Acesines and the Hydrotes (Hydraotes) (*Strabo*, xv, 1, 29-30; Arrian, *Op. cit.*, v, 22), the original homeland or one of the earlier habitats of the Kathikas may have been in the Punjab region of North-Western India. (See also *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, 1965, vol. xv, p. 65). Later they may have migrated to Western India.

It is tempting to connect the term *Kathika* with *Kathiawad* (<*Kathiā*+*waḍā*<*Kathiya*+*wāḍā*<*Kathika*+*vāṭaka*), the name of an area in Western India. We are, however, not sure whether the word concerned can be related to the name of the Khatiyas, mentioned in the Nasik inscription of Balaśrī (*EI*, vol. VIII, pp. 60 f).

35. *Ptolemy*, VII, I, 64.
36. Ibn Haukal, *Ashkālu-l Bilad* ; H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 34 and the map facing p. 32 Ibn Haukal lived in the 10th century A D. (*Ibid* , p. 33).
37. *Ptolemy*, VII, 1, 64.
38. In this connection see also *Pauly*, vol. XXIII, no. 2, col. 1788-1797.
39. *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 60.

39a. H. C. Raychaudhury, *Studies in Indian Antiquities* (2nd edition), pp. 114-115.

40 *IHQ*, 1930, vol. VI, p. 751 ; *EHDY*, pp. 33-34.

41. It is not unlikely that Kukura was in Gujarat (*IA*, 1918, vol. XLVII, p. 172, f.n. 1).
42. *SI*, p. 172, f.n. 1.

43 The Junagadh inscription of c. A.D. 149-150 refers to Rudradāman I as the lord of *inter alia* Ānartta and Surāshṭra (*EI*, vol. VIII, p. 44), and speaks of Suviśākha as ruling on his behalf the whole of these territories (*Ibid*, p. 45) Since this epigraph also states that Suviśākha repaired the dam of the Lake Sudarśana (*Ibid.*), apparently in the vicinity of Junagadh (*IA*, 1878, vol. VII, p. 257 ; *JBBRAS*. *os*, vol. XVIII, pp. 47-60), this lake must have been either in Ānartta or in Surāshṭra (*Saṅskrita College Patrikā* 1966-67, pp. 58-59). It also appears from the same source that these were contiguous territories.

The term *Surāshṭra* seems to have survived in *Sorath*, the name of an area in Southern Kathiawad (*BG*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 6). This may indicate that at least South Kathiawad was known in some earlier ages as Surāshṭra (*Ibid.*). Ānarttapura, referred to in the records of the Maitrakas of Valabhi and identified with Vadnagar in the Mehsana district, is considered to have been connected with Ānartta (*Ibid.*). So the latter may have included in some earlier periods certain regions to the east of the Little Rann of Cutch and immediately above Kathiawad (*Ibid.*). It has also been suggested that Āuartta may have also incorporated Northern Kathiawad (*Ibid.*).

44. See above n. 43.
45. *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 60.
46. In this connection see also *Our Heritage*, 1963, vol XI, p. 65.
47. *Periplus*, sec. 41. See also above Chapter II, n. 86,
48. *Periplus*, sec. 38 ; Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 165.
49. Schoff, *Periplus*, pp. 165-166 ; *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, 1965-66, vol. VI, pp. 181 f ; etc.
50. *Periplus*, sec. 41.
51. Megasthenes and Eratosthenes quoted in Arrian, *Op. cit.*, v, 6 ; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliothekes Historikes*, II, 35 ; *Strabo*, XV, 11, 1 ; *NH*, VI 21, 56-57 ; etc.
52. See *Periplus*, sec. 38.
53. *Ptolemy*, VII, 1, 2.
54. McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 36.
55. Schoff, *Periplus*, p 176 ; McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 140 ; etc
56. Manbanos (Manbanus), mentioned in the *Periplus*, has has been identified with Nahapāna of inscriptions and coins (*JA*, 1897, s. IX, vol. X, p, 137 ; *JRAS*, 1907, p. 1043, f.n. 2 ; etc.).

56a. *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 60 ; *JBBRAS*, 1907, o. s., vol. XXII, pp. 223-244 ; *CCADWK* pp. XLVII-XLIX and LXXXVIII-LXXXIX.

57. *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9.
58. *NC*, 1889, pp. 269-271 ; J. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 209, f.n. 6 ; *TP*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, p. 192 ; B. N. Mukheriee, *Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I, ch. II, f.n. 24 ; etc.
59. *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, 1965-66, vol. VI, pp. 181 f.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 183 ; see also Chapter IV, Sec. C.

61. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 141.
62. *Ibid*.
63. See also *Ibid*.
64. *SI*, p. 172, f.n. 1 ; see also our article in *Our Heritage*, 1967, vol. XV, and *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1931, vol. XXVI, pl. 38.
65. In this connection see *CCADWK*, pp. XXX f.
66. *IA*, 1878, vol. VII, p. 259 ; *BG*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 36 ; vol. XVI, p. 631 ; *CCADWK*, p. XXXIII and f.n. 1.
67. *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 60.
68. *CII*, vol. III, p. 31.
69. H. Hamid, R. C. Kak, and R. P. Chanda, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sanchi*, pp. 29 30, no. A 82 ; J. Marshall, A. Foucher and N. G. Majumdar, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, vol. I, p. 386, no. 829 ; vol. III, pl. CV, no. C ; CXXXVIII, no. 53.
70. See above n. 69.
71. We may also refer here to J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw's attempt to refer the epigraph of Vaskushāṇa to the year 122 of the Kanishka Era (*Scythian Period*, pp. 312-314). However, since the date of this document is definitely written as year 22, and since there is no reliable evidence indicating the system of omitting the figure of hundred in the reckoning of the Kanishka Era, we need not accept the interpretation of J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw. For arguments against dating stylistically the image bearing the inscription of Vaskushāṇa to a period after the first hundred years of the Kanishka Era (*Scythian period*, pp. 313-314 ; J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, p. 295, f.n. 22), see our review of J. M. Rosenfield's book (*The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*) in *East*, 1967, vol. I, no. 2).

71a. The ruler concerned has been differently identified as a foreigner ruling in or around Mathura (H. Hamid, R. C. Kak and R. P. Chanda, *Op. cit.*, p. 31), as a minor Kushāṇa feudatory (*JRAS*, 1947, p. 51), as a successor of Vāsudeva I or Kanishka II [Vāsu(deva II) Kushāṇa (?)] (*Scythian Period*, p. 314), etc. B. N. Puri (*IC*, 1941-42, vol. VIII, p. 192) and C. R. Krishnamachari (*PIHC*, 1944, p. 135) were among the first Indologists to recognise in *Vaskushāṇa* a reference to Vāsishka Kushāṇa. However, C. R. Krishnamachari wrongly read the date of the Sanchi record of Vāsashka (=Vāsishka) of the year 28 (n. 72) as the year 68, and hence ascribed the epigraph in question, dated in the year 22, to a different ruler of the same name (*Ibid.*). But the reading 28 is certain (n. 72). Moreover, the Mathura inscription mentioned by Führer as dated in the year 76 and in the reign of Vāsushka (*IA*, 1904, vol. XXXIII, p. 106, f.n. 55) was never published or inspected by any other scholar, and, as remarked by H. Lüders, was probably never in existence (*Mathura Inscriptions*, p. 67). So there is no necessity of postulating the theory of two Vāsishkas. See also A. L. Basham, *BSOAS*, vol. XV, p. 97 and J. N. Banerjea, *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, pp 242-243 ; B. N. Mukherjee, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, ch. II, f. n. 326.

72. *SI*, pp. 144-145 and f.n. 1 of p. 145.

73. The name of the king, mentioned in this epigraph, is read as *Vāsashka* and also as *Vāsuska* (*SI*, p. 144 and f.n. 3). The royal names in some records of the years 24 and 28 are written differently as *Vrāsishka*, *Vāsishka* and *Vāsashka* (*JA*, 1958, vol. CCXLVI, p. 389). The proximity of the dates of the epigraphs concerned and also the apparent similarity between these names indicate that they denote one and the same person. The generally accepted form of his name is *Vāsishka.*

74. According to N. G. Majumdar, the Sanchi epigraphs of the years 22 and 28 (of the Kanishka Era) are on statues of Mathura red sand-stone and in characters similar to those in contemporary Brāhmī records from

Mathura. Hence, N. G. Majumdar concluded that they were inscribed at Mathura and that their evidence need not necessarily suggest Kushāṇa rule in Eastern Malwa (J. Marshall, A. Foucher and N. G. Majumdar, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 278 ; see also S. Srikantha Sastri, *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol. XXIII, p. 233).

No doubt, the sculptures in question are products of the Mathura school. However, like the Sarnath Bodhisattva image in Mathura red sand-stone, dedicated by Bala (*EI*, vol. VIII, pp. 173 f), they may have been brought from Mathura to the place of their discovery, and inscribed and dedicated there. From the point of palaeography they have no greater affiliation to the approximately contemporary epigraphs from Mathura than to those of Western India. Moreover, the form of the numeral 20, as it appears in the Sanchi inscription of the year 28, is found in the Nanaghat and Jasdan records in Western India (*ASWI*, vol. V, pl. LI ; *EI*, vol. XVI, pl. facing p. 237 ; *SI*, p. 145, f.n. 1), but apparently not in the Mathura records.

Thus none of N. G. Majumdar's arguments appears to be convincing. On the other hand, since the documents in question speak of certain dedications made, apparently, at Sanchi, the political conditions indicated by them should refer to that locality. As a parallel example we can cite the case of the Sarnath inscription of the year 3 of Kanishka I's reign which speaks of a dedication at Vārāṇasi, i.e. Vārāṇasī (including Sarnath in the Kushāṇa age), and alludes to the inclusion of the latter region within the Kushāṇa empire (*EI*, vol. VIII, pp. 173 f).

The Sanchi epigraph of the year 28 thus locates that area within the empire of Vāsishka. On the other hand, the Sanchi record of the year 22 suggests Vaskushāṇa's authority over the same locality. Hence the identification of Vaskushāṇa with Vāsishka

Kushāṇa cannot be questioned on the grounds of the absence of independent evidence of the rule of the latter monarch in the territory in question.

75. B. N. Mukherjee, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, ch. II, sec. E.

76. K. P. Jayaswal once observed that a story, recorded in Somadeva's *Kathā-sarit sāgara*, indicates rivalry between Kanishka (I)and the Sātavāhanas. The story tells of one Vikramāditya alias Vishamaśīla, a king of Ujjayinī and a son of king Mahendrāditya. It also refers to Malayavatī, queen of Vikramāditya and a princess of Malayapura. This story also mentions the defeat of the Mlecchas at the hands of Vikramaśakti, a general or a feudatory (literally meaning "a dependent king") of Vikramāditya (Somadeva, *Kathā sarit-sāgara*, bk. XVIII, chs. CXX and CXXII ; N. M. Penzer, *The Ocean of Story, being C. H. Tawney's Translation of Somadeva's Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, vol. IX, pp. 4 and 34 f).

In the *Kāmasūtra* there is a reference to a queen called Malayavatī who died in the embrace of her husband Kuntala Sātakarṇi. K. P. Jayaswal identified this Malayavatī with her namesake in the story of the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*. If this identification is correct, Vikramāditya should have been the same as Kuntala Sātakarṇi. K. P. Jayaswal also considered Mahendrāditya as identical with Mahendra Sātakarṇi. The latter's name appears above that of Kuntala Sātakarṇi in the Purāṇic lists of kings. According to K. P. Jayaswal, the Mlecchas, referred to in the story of the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, were really the Śakas of Kanishka (I)'s time (*JBORS*, 1930, vol. XVI, pp. 295-300).

The above hypotheses are, however, untenable. The last one has no basis whatsoever. Neither all Mlecchas were Śakas, nor all Śakas were under Kanishka I. K. P. Jayaswal himself later thought of another Kushāṇa ruler, V'ima, as having been the defeated Mleccha king (*JBORS*, 1932, vol. XVIII, pp. 9 f).

But the reasons, which reject the identification of the king of the Mlecchas with Kanishka I, should also prove that the second suggestion is also wrong. So also the two queens cannot be identified with each other simply because they had similar names. Moreover, Malayavatī of the *Kāmasūtra* died in king's embrace, whereas that of the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* was noted at the end of the story to have been living happily (Somadeva, *Op. cit.*, bk. XVIII, ch. CXXII ; N. M. Penzer, *Op. cit.*, vol IX, p. 42). Hence their respective husbands could not have been identical. Consequently, the possibility of the identification of Vikramāditya's father with the predecessor of Kuntala Sātakarṇi becomes very much slender.

Thus it seems that this story of Vikramāditya has nothing to do with any episode of Kanishka I-Sātavāhana rivalry.

77. In this connection we may cite a story in the Tamil epic *Śilāppadikāram*. The story tells of the Chera king Śenguṭṭuvaṉ's adventures in North India in quest of a stone from the Himalayas for making an image of Pattiṉi. The Chera king crossed the Ganges, apparently with the help provided by a certain Nuṟṟuvaṟ Kaṉṉar, defeated and captured Balakumāra's sons Kaṉaka and Vijaya, and returned to his capital after procuring the required stone. Later, he let Kaṉaka and Vijaya out of prison (Iḷangovaḍigaḷ *Silāppadikāram*, cantos XXVI-XXX ; U. V. Saminathaiyar (editor), *Śilāppadikāram*, cantos XXVI-XXX ; for an English translation, see V. V. R. Dikshitar, *The Śilappadikāram*, pp. 292-342).

V. Kanakasabhai interpreted the expression *Nuṟṟuvaṟ Kaṉṉar* as meaning "hundred karṇas" (i.e., hundred ears), equated it with Sanskrit *Śatakarṇin* (*sic*), and took it to stand for a Sātakarṇi of the Andhra or the Sātavāhana family (V. Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils*

Eighteen Hundred Years Ago (2nd edition), p. 7 ; for a slightly different interpretation, see T. G. Arvamuthan, *The Kāverī, the Maukharis and the Saṅgam Age*, pp. 50, f. n. 2 and 51, f. n.).

Some scholars have tried to see in the names *Kaṉaka* and *Vijaya* allusions to Kanika (= Kanishka I) and the Khotanese king Vijayakīrti, referred to in a Tibetan treatise (V. V. R. Dikshitar, *Op. cit.*, p. 28).

If these identifications are correct, the legend in question should be taken to indicate Śenguṭṭuvaṉ's association with a Sātavāhana Sātakarṇi and his victory over Kanishka I and Vijayakīrti.

There are, however, insuperable difficulties in accepting all these suggestions and implications. Suggested dates for Śenguṭṭuvaṉ vary from the 1st century A. D. to the 6th century A. D., and so he cannot be placed with certainty within any conceivable period for Kanishka I's reign (V. Kanakasabhai, *Op. cit.*, p. 77 ; V. V. R. Dikshitar, *Op. cit.*, p. 28 ; *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 517 ; P. T. S. Aiyangar, *History of the Tamils*, pp. 509 and 512 ff). Moreover, the relevant point of the story—the victory of Śenguṭṭuvaṉ over Kaṉaka (Kanishka I) and Vijaya (Vijayakīrti) after receiving some help from Nuṟṟuvaṟ Kaṉṉar—is not corroborated by any source definitely ascribable to the age of Śenguṭṭuvaṉ (*Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 522-523).

No doubt, the *Śilappadikāram* itself indicates its author as a brother of Śenguṭṭuvaṉ (canto XXX, vv. 165-182), and it has been taken by some scholars as a product of the age of that monarch (V. Kanakasabhai, *Op. cit.*, p. 208 ; V. V. R. Dikshitar, *Op. cit.*, p. 66 ; etc.). It is also true that the *Maṇimekalai*, another Tamil epic, also refers to Śenguṭṭuvaṉ's victory over Kaṉaka and Vijaya (*Maṇimekalai*, bk. XVI ; S. Krishnaswami Aiyanger, *Manimekalai in its Historical Setting*, p. 189).

It should, however, be noted that the authenticity of the supposed relationship between Śenguṭṭuvaṉ and the author of the *Śilappadikāram* is questioned on the basis of more important data (*Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 503). Moreover, after a critical analysis of the geographical, linguistic and metrical evidence contained in this epic and also after taking into consideration its probable indebtedness to other North Indian and Tamil texts, S. Vaiyapuri Pillai has assigned it to about the middle of the 9th century A.D. (S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *History of Tamil Literature*, pp. 147-157). An almost similar analysis of the contents of the *Maṇimekalai* led the same scholar to date it to the first quarter of the 9th century A.D. (*Ibid.*, pp. 152-153). We do not maintain that all of his arguments are conclusive ; but they are strong enough to prevent us from being dogmatic about the ascription of either of these epics to a period much earlier than the 9th century A.D. or to the age of Śenguṭṭuvaṉ himself. Hence, no statement on Śenguṭṭuvaṉ, recorded in these treatises and uncorroborated by any other reliable source, can be accepted as strictly historical.

It is true that the association of Kaṉaka with Vijaya indeed reminds us of Kanika (=Kanishka I) and Vijayakīrti of the Tibetan source. Moreover, *Nuṟṟuvaṟ Kaṉṉar* can mean hundredfold *Kanna*= *Śatakanna*, and the latter may perhaps be considered as a corruption of the name *Sātakarṇi* (*Sātakarṇi*> *Satakarṇi*>*Śatakanna*=*Nuṟṟuvaṟ Kaṉṉar* ?). This name is known to have been shared by some rulers including a few of the Sātavāhana family. One of them was Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who might have been a contemporary of Kanishka I. Hence, it may be guessed that the original author of the epic legend in question was acquainted with a vague memory of the struggle between Kanishka I and a Sātavāhana king, and that he adopted that tradition to suit his own ends.

It should, however, be admitted that the resemblances between the names of Kaṇaka and his associate Vijaya and those of Kanika and his compatriot Vijayakīrti may have been purely accidental. Moreover, Vijayakīrti is not known to have helped Kanika = Kanishka I against the Sātavāhanas. Hence the epic story in question cannot be cited as an example of the persistence in South India in later times of the memory of the Kanishka I-Sātavāhana struggle.

78. We may here refer to the testimonies of the *Tsa pao-tsang ching* (*JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 81 ; *JA*, 1896, s. IX, vol. VIII, pp. 446, 469 and 472 ; *Nanjio*, 1329 ; *Taisho Tripiṭaka*, p. 203, ch. VIII, p. 484) and the *Fu fa-tsang yin yüan chuan* (*JA*, 1936, vol. CCXXVIII, p. 81 ; *JA*, 1896, s. IX, vol. VII, pp. 447 and 476 ; *Nanjio*, 1340 ; *Taisho Tripiṭaka*, 2058, ch. V, p. 315.). The first mentions twice the victory of Kanishka (I) (Chi-ni-cha) over three of the four regions of the world (*Taisho Tripiṭaka*, no. 203, ch. VII, p. 484), and the second alludes to his successful campaign in (the countries bordering) the three seas (*Ibid*., no. 2058, ch. V, p. 317). It can be argued that one of the "three regions" may have been the "south" and may here include South India. It is also possible to argue that the very same area, surrounded by the seas, may be intended by the second work. However, we must concede that such general descriptions of conquests are only conventional and are too vague to admit of any definite conclusion.

CHAPTER IV

EPILOGUE

A

It appears that none of the non-Indian data, considered by some scholars as indicating the presence of the Kushāṇas in the Deccan, has any real bearing on the subject concerned. A few of them are, however, relevant to the history of the Kushāṇas in other parts of the Indian subcontinent.

The importance of Indian coins and inscriptions for the study of the relationship between the Deccan and the Kushāṇa monarchs, including Kanishka I, will be discussed in detail in a separate volume. It will, however, be necessary to recount here certain chronological data for a proper understanding of the problem of Kanishka I's relationship with the Deccan.

B

Ptolemy refers to Ozene, a place in Larike, as the royal residence of Tiastenes.[1] This ruler has been identified with Chashṭana of coins and inscriptions,[2] and *Larike* (*Lar+ike*) is considered to have been based on the word *Lāṭa*, *Lāḍha* or *Lār.*[3] *Lāṭa* geographically denotes only SouthernGujarat between the Mahi and the Tapti.[4] As Ozene or Ujjayinī is not known to have ever been within the geographical limits of Lāṭa, its inclusion in Larike suggests that Ptolemy's Larike was a political unit. Larike probably comprised the territory ruled by Tiastenes (Chashṭana), referred to as the king of Ozene. Hence the incorporation of Nasika in Larike indicates that Chashṭana held Nasik at least for a certain period.

Nasik was under Nahapāna from his year 41 to at least sometime of his year 45 (i.e., up to his year 44+X),[5] under Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, the conquerer of Nahapāna,[6] from at least the first day of the second fortnight of the rainy season of his 18th regnal year to at least the fifth day of the fourth fortnight of the rainy season of his 24th regnal year (i.e., for more than six years),[7] and under Vāśishṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi, the son and successor of Gautamīputra,[8] at least up to the summer season of his 22nd regnal year (i.e., for nearly 22 years).[9] Hence Chashṭana, whose rule probably ended after that of Nahapāna,[10] could not have occupiod Nasik earlier than nearly (6+22) 28 years which are to be dated after 44+X years of Nahapāna. On the other hand, Mahākshatrapa Chashṭana must have ruled Nasik before his grandson Rudradāman I became the Mahākshatrapa by the month of Mārggaśīrsha of the year 72 (of the Śaka Era),[11] (i.e., November-December of A.D. 149-50). This means that 44+X years of Nahapāna must be placed nearly 28 years before November-December of A.D. 149-50, or by November-December of A.D. 121-22. And as the year

44 of the Śaka Era (which began in March of A.D. 78[12]) could not have been completed before March of A.D 122, the year 44+X of Nahapāna, to be dated by November-December of A.D. 121-22, should not be assigned to the same era. This inference is further strengthened by the considerations that "X" of the "year 44+X" of Nahapāna may represent several months, if not nearly a full year, and that Gautamīputra and his son could have held Nasik for some years more than the known periods of their reigns.

If the date on a recently noticed inscription referring to Chashṭana has been correctly read as the year 11,[13] and if that year can be assigned, like the dates on the coins of his family, to the era of A.D. 78,[14] then he might have been ruling in A.D. 88-89. If Chashṭana ruled after Nahapāna, the year 44+X of the latter must not be referred to the era of A.D. 78. It may, however, be argued that the provenance of the record of the year 11, which appears to have been discovered in the present state of Gujarat,[14a] may not indicate his rule in Nasik in Western Deccan, where Nahapāna ruled at least up to his year 44+X.

If Chashṭana had begun his rule by the year 11 (of the era of A.D. 78), it was unlikely for him to continue to rule long, if at all, after the year 52 (of the same reckoning) in which the Andhau inscriptions, referring to him and (his grandson) Rudradāman (I), were dated.[15] This means that he probably began to control Nasik by the year 52 or A.D. 129-30. So Pulumāvi, who ruled there at least up to sometime of his 22nd year (i.e., up to his year 21+X), probably began to reign not later than (129/30-21) c.108-9 A.D. His father's reign in Nasik, which lasted for more than 6 years, should have started by (c. A.D. 108/9-6) c. A.D. 102-3. So Nahapāna, who was ousted from Nasik sometime after his year 44+X and by sometime of the 18th regnal year of Gautamīputra,[16] probably did not begin to rule later than [c. A.D. 102/3 – (44+X)] c. A.D. 58-59.

Ptolemy probably gathered much of his information on India during the years of his astronomical calculations from A.D. 127 to 141 (Appendix III). He included among his informants on India, persons who had visited Simylla.[17] This locality was a part of Ariake Sadinon,[18] which also had within its limits Baithana, the royal residence of Siri Polamaios.[19] So the date or dates of Ptolemy's source or sources of information on thist erritory and king Polamaios might not have been much, if at all, earlier than A.D. 127. Ariake Sadinon was the territory of the Sātavāhanas (Chapter II). Siri Polamaios has been identified with Vāśishṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi.[19a] This identification is justifiable, since there could not have been a great interval between the latest possible date for the beginning of Puḷumāvi's rule (c. A.D. 108-9) and the earliest possible date for the source of Ptolemy's information about Polamaios (to be placed not much, if at all, earlier than A.D. 127).

If Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi was on the throne not much, if at all, earlier than A.D. 127, the earliest possible date for the initial year of his reign need not be placed, in the present state of our knowledge, more than decade before c. A.D. 108-9, the year by which he should have begun to rule. Such an inference suggests that Puḷumāvi ascended the throne sometime in the closing years of the 1st century A.D. or in the first decade of the 2nd century A.D. So his 24 known regnal years[20] should have covered the greater part of the first quarter of the 2nd century A.D. Hence the majority, if not all, of the 24 known regnal years of his father and predecessor on the Sātavāhana throne, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi,[21] should be placed in the last quarter of the 1st century A.D. It might also have been possible that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi did not cease to rule before the first decade of the 2nd century A.D.

Such a dating for Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi suggests that the earliest possible date for the inauguration of the rule of Nahapāna, who was ousted from Nasik sometime after his year 44+X and by sometime of the 18th regnal year of Gautamīputra, need not be placed, in the present state of our knowledge, more than a decade earlier than the latest possible date for such an event, i.e., c. A.D. 58-59. So the period of reckoning to which his known dates (like years 41, 42, 45 and 46)[22] are to be assigned began sometime between c. A.D. 48-49 and 58-59. The years 41, 42, 45 and 46 cannot be referred to any known era and hence should better be considered, in the present state of knowledge, as regnal years.[23]

Such a chronological position for Nahapāna does not go against the suggested identification of him with Manbanos (Manbanus) mentioned in the *Periplus* as ruling over Syrastrene (Surāshṭra) and some other tracts of Western India.[24] Manbanus exercised or at least began to exercise his authority in those areas in or (rather well) before c. A. D. 150, the latest possible date for any event synchronising with the period when the author of the *Periplus* could have collected information on India (Appendix II). Nahapāna, like Manbanus, ruled over Surāshṭra and some territories of Western India[25] and lived well before c. A.D. 150. Moreover, it can be suggested, on the analogy of Indian names *Mahī*, *Dakshiṇāpatha*, and **Pārasamudra* having been transliterated in Greek respectively as *Mais*, *Dakhinabades* and *Palaisimoundou*,[26] the form *Nahapāna*, appearing on some coins of Nahapāna,[27] could well have been expressed in the same language as *Nanban(os)*. And since the forms of the letters *mu* and *nu* in the Heidelberg manuscript of the *Periplus* are very similar to each other,[28] it seems probable that the scribe or scribes concerned inadvertently wrote *Manbanos* in place of *Nanbanos*.[29]

If Manbanos (Manbanus)-Nahapāna began to rule sometime between c.A.D. 48-49 and 58-59, he could not have started his career as a subordinate of Kanishka I, who ascended the Kushāṇa throne much later than c. A. D. 58-59. According to the *Hou Han-shu*, Shen-tu was conquered by Yen-kao-chen[30] or V'ima Kadphises.[31] The information of the *Hou Han-shu* on Shen-tu was mainly derived from the report of Pan Yung prepared in c. A.D. 125.[32] In fact, the statement in the *Hou Han-shu* that "at this time they (i. e., the people of Shen-tu) all belong to the Yüeh-chih",[33] should refer to the date of the source of Pan Yung's information and not to the age of the author of the *Hou Han-shu*, who died in c. A.D. 445[34] and by which period the Kushāṇa empire must have disintegrated. This means that the Yüeh-chih occupied Shen-tu by c. A. D 125. Shen-tu, the name of which was based on the Indian name *Sindhu*,[35] was on the lower Indus.[36] We have shown elsewhere, on numismatic grounds, that this region was under the Kushāṇas (Yüeh-chih) from sometime of the reign of V'ima Kadphises to at least sometime of the first year of the reign of Vāsudeva I.[37] His first known year is 64 or 67 (of the era of Kanishka I), though he might have become the supreme Kushāṇa ruler even in the year 60 of this reckoning, which is the last known date of his predecessor on the Kushāṇa throne, viz., Huvishka. Hence Shen-tu(Sindhu) was in the Kushāṇa empire by c. A.D. 125 and from sometime of the reign of V'ima to at least sometime of the year 60 of the Kanishka Era. This period of the Kushāṇa hegemony ["X" period of the reign of V'ima +(59+y) years of the reckoning of Kanishka I] must be placed before the month of Mārggaśīrsha of the year 72 (of the era of A.D. 78)[38] (i.e., November-December of A.D. 149-150), when Rudradāman I held, *inter alia*, Sindhu (Shen-tu) as an independent ruler.[39] Hence the commencement of the first year of the Kanishka Era, which began with the reign of Kanishka I, should not be placed after November-December of

(A. D. 149/50-59=) c. A.D. 90-91. On the other hand, since V'ima, who ruled before Kanishka I, imitated a coin-type of the Parthian monarch Gotarzes II, whose reign began in c. A. D. 38,[40] Kanishka I himself probably ascended the Kushāṇa throne well after that date. These arguments date the year 1 of the Kanishka I's reign well after A.D. 38, but not later than c. A.D. 90-91. This inference and the fact that Kanishka I is known to have been associated with an era indicate that it may well have been the same as that of A. D. 78.

At least none of the current theories places Kanishka I before A D. 78.[41] Hence if our dating of the period is even approximately correct, Nahapāna could not have begun his career as a subordinate of Kanishka I.

There are other difficulties in connecting Nahapāna with the Kushāṇas. We have already shown that the *Periplus* indicates that Manbanus (Nahapāna) was ruling, *inter alia*, Barygaza (Broach) at a time when the "warlike nation of the Bactrians" was in occupation of certain areas above Proclais or Pushkalāvatī (modern Charsada region) (see above pp. 30-31). Such territories might well have been in Ta-hsia, which included Wakhan, Badakhshan Kafiristan and Chitral and which embraced the eastern parts of Bactria as understood by Ptolemy.[42] Ta-hsia was controlled by the Yüeh-chih from the 2nd century B.C.[43] The Kushāṇas, which formed a branch of the Yüeh-chih, held the whole of Ta-hsia from the days of Kujula Kadphises to the time of the downfall of the Kushāṇa empire in the second half of the 3rd century A.D.[44] And since Bardesanes (c. A.D. 154-222)[45] actually called the Qushani (i. e., the Kushans or Kushāṇas) as Bactrians,[46] the king of the "warlike nation of the Bactrians," mentioned by the *Periplus*,[47] could well have been a Yüeh-chih or rather a Kushāṇa monarch. The *Periplus* appears to confine the Indian possessions of these Bactirans (=Yüeh-chih or Kushāṇas) to the extreme north-western parts of that subcontinent at a time when Manbanus (Nahapāna) had already become the ruler of Syrastrene and some other tracts of Western India. Hence there seems to be no reason to believe that Nahapāna began his career as a subordinate of the Kushāṇas, including Kanishka I and his predecessors V'ima Kadphises and Kujula Kadphises.[48]

We cannot, however, altogether brush aside the theories suggesting an association of the family of Chashṭana with the Kushāṇas.[49] The title *Kshatrapa*, which appears on some of his coins, essentially denotes a subordinate status. Though the Cutch Museum inscription referring to him and to the year 11 (of the era of A.D. 78) need not necessarily suggest his rule beyond the Cutch region,[50] it lay near the lower Indus area which had been once at least partly occupied by the Kushāṇas. And if the reckoning started in the reign of Kanishka I is considered to have been the same as the era of A.D. 78, it was not altogether impossible for Chashṭana to serve that Kushāṇa monarch. It may also be claimed that the group of Chashṭana used to swear allegiance to the Kushāṇas until its independence was asserted by Rudradāman I, whose Junagadh inscription of about the year 72 (i.e., c. A.D. 149-150) described him as one who had "himself acquired the name of Mahākshatrapa."[51]

Even if all these arguments are found acceptable, the Cutch Museum inscription of the year 11 does not prove that Chashṭana was in that year a ruler of Dakshiṇāpatha as defined above (Chapter I).[52]

C

The upshot of this discussion is that none of the sources, Indian as well as non-Indian, conclusively demonstrates the historicity of the rule of Kanishka I or any preceding Kushāṇa monarch in the Deccan.[53] How far his successors were able to assert Kushāṇa authority in that territory will be the subject of our study in a separate volume.

The period of Kanishka I, however, witnessed the beginning of the Kushāṇa thrust towards the Deccan. We have already noted that Ākara or Eastern Malwa, situated near the Deccan, was annexed to the Kushāṇa empire before the end of Kanishka I's reign[54] (see above p. 78). Thus if Kanishka I did not rule the Deccan, he might have been active in its neighbourhood.[55] This conclusion itself indicates one of the stages of the growth of the Kushāṇa power in India.

NOTES

1. *Ptolemy*, VII, 1, 63.
2. *BG*, vol., I, pt. I, p. 540 ; *EHD*, p. 39 ; McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 153.
3. McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 38.
4. *BG*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 7. B. Indraji observed long ago that "the country between Broach and Dhar in Malwa...is still called Rāṭha" (*Ibid.*. p. 7). It is, however, not certain whether the name *Rāṭha* was based on the term *Lāṭa* and not on the word *Rāshṭra* (*Mahārāshtra*).
5. *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 82.
6. *CCADWK*, pp. XXXVII and LXXXIX ; *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 60.
7. *EI*, vol. VIII, pp. 71 and 73.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 65. The Nasik epigraphs referring to Vāśishthīputra Puḷumāvi are dated in his 2nd, 6th, 19th and 22nd regnal years. These dates indicate that he was perhaps in continuous occupation of Nasik from his accession to the throne to at least sometime of his 22nd regnal year. The Karle inscriptions referring to him are dated in the years 7 and 24 (see *CCADWK*, pp. L-LI).
10. *CCADWK*, p. 80. There is no real evidence to support the theory that Nahapāna ruled later than Chashṭana (*JA*, 1961, vol. CCXLIX, pp. 455-457 ; *NC*, 1964, pp. 276-280). On the other hand, certain data indicate the weakness of such a hypothesis. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi destroyed the Kshaharāta family and re-struck coins of Nahapāna, while Gautamīputra's son and successor Vāśishthīputra Puḷumāvi and a few of his successors imitated a coin-type initiated by Chashṭana (*EI*, vol. VIII, p. 60 ; *CCADWK*, pp. LXXXIX, 45 and 72 ; *JNSI*, 1952, vol. XIV, pp. 1 f ; 1949, vol. XI, pp. 59 f ; etc.). The last-mentioned person ruled over, *inter*

alia, a substantial part of the territory included in different periods in the dominions of Nahapāna and in the kingdom of Gautamīputra. These facts certainly suggest that the rule of Chashṭana probably ended after that of Nahapāna.

11. *EI* vol. VIII, pp. 40 and 42.
12. R. Sewell and S. B. Dikshit, *Indian Calendar*, pp. 27 and 52 ; D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 258 f ; etc. Each year of the Śaka Era starts from the month of Chaitra (March-April) or with the sun's "entrance" in the Zodiacal sign of Mesha (coinciding with the completion of Chaitra).
13. *Indian Archaeology, 1967-68, A Review*, p. 52.
14. E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 22.

14a. See above n. 13.

15. *EI*, vol. XIV, pp. 23 f.
16. *CCADWK*, p. XLVII ; *EI*, vol. VIII, pp. 60 and 71.
17. *Ptolemy*, I, 17.
18. *Ibid.*, VII, 1, 6 and 82.
19. *Ibid.*, VII, 1, 82 ; see also Renou, *Ptolemy*, p. 35, f.n. 14.

19a. *BG*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 37 ; see also McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 177.

20. See above n. 9.
21. See above n. 7.
22. *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 82 ; *SI*, p. 166.
23. The dates of Nahapāna have been referred by some scholars to the era of 58 B.C. (A. Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 3 ; *AHD*, pp. 20-21 ; *JRAS*, 1926, pp. 652 and 655 ; *JBBRAS*, *ns*, vol. III, pp. 66-69 ; *EHDY*, pp. 100 f. ; etc.), and by some to the era of A. D. 78 (*EHD*, pp. 38-39 ; *BG*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 29 ; *IA*, 1897, vol. XXVI, p. 153 ; E. J, Rapson, *Indian coins*, p. 22 ; *CCADWK*, p. cv ; *PHAI*, pp. 488-489 ; *AIU*, p. 180, f. n. 1 ; *JIH*, 1933, vol. XII, p. 43 ; *IHQ*, 1950, vol. XXVI, p. 218 ; *Com. His. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 275-277 ; etc.).

A.M. Boyer (*JA*, 1897, s. IX, vol. X, pp. 120-151) and J.F. Fleet (*JRAS*, 1912, p. 992) considered Nahapāna as the founder of the Śaka Era of A. D. 78. A few Indologists have observed that the known years of Nahapāna should be taken as his regnal years (*PIHC*, 1950, pp. 39-40 ; S. Chattopadhyaya, *Śakas in India,* pp. 44-47 ; *Lalit Kalā,* no. 3-4, pp. 15 f, etc.). It may be pointed out here that the busts on the coins of Nahapāna show him as young, middle-aged, old-aged and very old-aged, and thereby indicate a long reign for him. We may also note that the Jaina *Harivaṁśa* of Jinasena ascribes 42 years of rule to Naravāhana (= Nahapāna ?) (Jinasena, *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, (published by the Bhāratīya Jaina Sāhitya Prakāśinī Saṁsthā), ch. 60, 491).

24. *Periplus,* sec. 41.

25. *CCADWK*, p. LVI. See also above p. 75.

26. *Periplus.* secs 41, 50 and 61. The *Periplus* refers to *Pālaisimoundou* as denoting the same island which was "called by the ancients as Taprobane". Taprobane or Ceylon is alluded to by the expression *Pārasamudraka* [i. e., belonging to (a region called) Pārasamudra] occurring in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (2, 11) (see also R. G. Basak, *Kautilīya Arthaśāstra,* vol. I, p. 110). Ptolemy was probably wrong in considering *Palai* of the expression *Palaisimoundou* as meaning "formerly" (*Ptolemy*, VII, 4, 1). It may be noted here that in certain Latin manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Geography* the term *Sandano*(*rum*) appears as a transliteration probably of the name **Sādāhana* (see above p. 33).

27. *JBBRAS*, 1907, *os*, vol. XXII, p. 229 ; *JRAS*, 1912, p. 785, f. n. 3.

28. The Heidelberg manuscript of the *Periplus* was personally examined by the present author. See *JA*, 1897, s. IX, vol. x, p. 137.
29. *Ibid.*; *JRAS*, 1907, p. 1043, f. n. 2.
30. *HHS*, ch. 118, pp. 9-10.
31. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy* (*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), p. 93, f. n. 24.
32. *TP*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, p. 168 ; *Our Heritage*, 1967, vol. XV, pt. II, p. 5.
33. See above n. 30.
34. *TP*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, p. 149.
35. *Our Heritage*, 1967, vol. XV, pt. II, pp. 5-7.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
37. See our article in *PCDK*. See also B. N. Mukherjee, *An Agrippan Source—A study in Indo-Parthian History*, pp. 221f and 233.
38. *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 44.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
40. *JNSI*, 1960, XXII, pp. 109-112.
41. For detailed discussions on the different theories concerning the date of Kanishka I, see *PHAI*, pp. 465 f ; *AIU*, pp. 143 f ; etc.
42. B. N. Mukherjee, *An Agrippan Source—A Study in Indo-Parthian History*, pp. 111-113.
43. Ibid., pp. 110-111.
44. *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy* (*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), pp. 86-90.
45. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy* (*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), p. 57, f. n. 182.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 22 ; W. Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum : Containing Remains of Bardaisan, Meliton, Ambrose and Mara Bar Serapion*, pp. 21 and 82.
47. Periplus, sec. 47.

48. It may be argued that each of the titles *Kshatrapa* and *Mahākshatrapa*, ascirbed to Nahapāna, essentially implies a subordinate status, and that they may indicate his subordinate position at least for a certain period. (See also *CCADWK*, pp. cv-cvii). But these titles were not assumed only by the Kushāṇa subordinates. Hence the evidence in question cannot prove that Nahapāna ever served the Kushāṇas.

The word *suvarṇa* (meaning gold or rather gold species), which appears in a Nasik inscription of the time of Nahapāna (*EI*, vol. viii, pp. 82), has been interpreted to denote Kushāṇa gold coins (*CCADWK*, p. clxxxv ; *IA*, 1918, vol. xlvii, p. 76). But *suvarṇa* of the Nasik inscription may very well denote Roman gold coins. The *Periplus* refers to the import of gold coins into the Barygaza area (sec. 49).

For our arguments against other hypotheses associating Nahapāna with the Kushāṇas, see part ii of *The Kushāṇas and the Deccan*.

49. See *CCADWK*, pp. cvf ; *IA*, 1918, p. 76 ; *IA*, 1913, vol. xlii, pp. 189-190 ; *EHI* (3rd edition), pp. 209-211 ; (4th edition), p. 222 ; *CII*, vol. ii, pt. i, p. lxix-lxx ; B. N. Puri, *India Under the Kushāṇās*, pp. 22-23 ; etc.

50. *Indian Archaeology, 1967-68, A Review*, p. 52.

51. *EI*, vol. viii, p. 44.

52. For a detailed study of the problems touched upon in this chapter, see the part ii of the *Kushāṇas and the Deccan.*

53. Discoveries of certain Kushāṇa coins in the Deccan (*JNSI*, 1955, vol. xvii. pt. ii, p. 109 ; 1964, vol. xxvi, p. 228 ; B. C. Jain, *Inventory of the Hoards and Finds of Coins and Seals from Madhya Pradesh*, pp. 5-6) cannot by themselves prove that the Kushāṇas ruled in the Deccan. For such coins might well have found their way to the Deccan through trade and

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

commerce. Similarly,the title *Mahākshatrapa*, ascribed to one Rūpiamma in an epigraph discovered in the Bhandara district (*Summary of papers,* Inian History Congress, 27th Session, 1965, p. 28), cannot by itself alone prove that he was appointed as a Mahākshtrapa by the Imperial Kushāṇas. (See above n. 48).

54. A passage in Tāranātha's *Rgya-gar-chos-hbyun* states that "in the land of Ṭili and Mālava king Kanika, young in years, was chosen as sovereign. Twenty-eight diamond mines having been recently discovered, he lived in great wealth" (Schiefner, *Tāranātha* (text), pp. 70-71 ; Schiefner, *Tāranātha* (translation), pp. 89-90). Tāranātha, no doubt, distinguished Kanika from Kanishka, identifiable with Kanishka I. We have, however, already pointed out. the fallacy of making such a distinction (see above Chapter II, n. 51). Diamond mines were actually worked in or near Malwa (Mālava) in the Mughal period, in which age Tāranātha flourished. Kosa, described by Ptolemy as a place "where are diamonds" (*Ptolemy*, VII, 1, 65) might have been in or not far from Eastern Mālava or Ākara. The word *Ākara* itself literally means "mine". Rudradāman I, who had *Ākara* under him, had his treasury overflown with precious stones including *vajra* or diamond obtained through tributes, tolls and shares. The diamonds could have been found in Ākara or its neighbourhood. It appears that Eastern Mālava was already famous for its mines in the Kushāṇa age. These premises probably lead to the inference that by the name *Mālava* Tāranātha indicated his contemporary Mālwa, in which was the territory once known as Ākara. If such a hypothesis is accepted, his evidence may allude to the Kushāṇa occupation of Eastern Malwa. As Kanishka I was the first Kushāṇa king to occupy that territory, he could have been hyperbolically described as "a chosen" Kushāṇa

sovereign (c. f. *EI*, vol. VIII, pp. 43 and 47 ; vol. IV, p. 248 etc.).

Diamond was an important article of Indo-Roman commerce (E. H. Warmington, *Commerce Between the Roman empire and India*, p. 236). The Kushāṇas are known to have been much interested in this Indo-Roman trade and actually made much profit out of it (*The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, 1965-66, vol. V, pp. 181 f). Hence rich diamond mines might have been one of the important factors alluring the Kushāṇas to occupy Ākara.

55. If Chashṭana served Kanishka I for a certain period the provenance of his inscription of the year 11 (C. A. D. 88-89) may be considered to indicate the presence of a subordinate of that Kushāṇa monarch in an area near the Deccan.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

KUSHĀṆA GENEALOGICAL TABLE

MIAOS (or HERAOS)[1]
(Second half of the 1st century B.C.)
?
KUJULA KADPHISES
(From sometime before c. 1 B.C. to about the middle of the 1st century A.D.)
↓
V'IMA KADPHISES
(From about the middle of the 1st century A.D to c. A.D. 78)
?
KANISHKA (I) = ? A son of V'ma

[From the year I (?) (first known date—year 2) = c. A.D. 78-79 to the year 23 of the Kanishka Era]
:
VĀSISHKA (Vajheshka)[2]
(Year 22 to year 28)
↓
KANISHKA (II)
(Year 30 + x to year 41)

:
HUVISHKA[3]
(Grandson of V'ma)
(Year 28 to year 60)
?
VĀSUDEVA (I)
(Year 64 or 67 to year 98)
?
KANISHKA (III)
(Year 94 to sometime in or before A.D. 230)
?
VĀSUDEVA (II)[4]
(From c. A.D. 230 or earlier to c. A.D. 262 or sometime before that year)

NOTES

1. This genealogical table is prepared on the basis of the arguments furnished in B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy*(*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), ch. II.
2. On a coin published by R. Göbl one may read the obverse legend as *B* (*or K* ?) *azeshko*.........(R. Göbl, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*, vol. III, Wiesbaden, 1967, pl. 8, no. 1). Göbl attributes this coin to a second Vāsishka (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 308 and 312-313). It is, however, not certain whether the first letter of the royal name is *B* and not *K* and whether what is read as *zeta* is not a blundered *nu* or a part of the flowing ends of the fillet tied to the trident appearing near the legend in the obverse type. Moreover, we are not absolutely sure of the genuineness of the coin.
3. A Mathura inscription found at Mat refers to a devakula as belonging to the grandfather of Huvishka. Another epigraph, found at the same place, refers to Vimo (i.e., Vima) and alludes to the erection of apparently the same devakula during the reign of Vima (=V'ima). This suggests that V'ima was the grandfather of Huvishka. It appears that the members of the Kadphises group and the house of Kanishka might have belonged to one and the same Kushāṇa royal family. (For detailed discussion on these epigraphs and other relevant problems, see B. N. Mukherjee, *Op. cit.*, pp. 56f).

   The forms *kapasa*, *kaphasa*, *kapsa*, *kaphsa*, *kavsa*, *kadaphasa*, *kadaphes*, *kadaphiza*, *etc.*,, appearing along with the royal name on coins ascribable to Kujula, and the expression *kapphiśa* and *kapiśa*, occurring together the name of V'ima on his coins, can be connected with the term *kadphis*(*es*), which was used as a title on the species of both these rulers (*Ibid.*, pp. 45, 47 and 94-95). H. W. Bailey has shown that from Old Iranian **Kāta-paisa*, meaning "of honoured form", can be derived the Middle Iranian *kadaphes* and *kadphis(es*) (*BSOAS*, 1949-50, vol XIII, p. 396). The form *kasa*, noticeable on some pieces attributed to Kujula (B. N. Mukherjee, *Op. cit.*, p. 45), can be related to **kavasa* (*kavsa*) on the hypothesis of the elision of the intervocalic *va*. These arguments indicate that *kadphises* and other related forms were used as royal titles. So their presence on the coins of Kulula and V'ima need not suggest that they belonged to a family which was different from that of Kanishka I.

4. Sometimes Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II are grouped under a separate class called that of the Later Kushāṇas (*NC*, 1893, pp. 112 f; *AIU*, p. 151). R. Ghirshman observes that "tout les sources indiennes que parlent des Tukhāras (qui sont des Kouchans) insistent uniformément sur be nombre quatorze de leurs rois". He believes that this number fourteen means fourteen kings of the four Kushāṇa families. The members of the first dynasty were Heraos, Kujula and V'ima, those of the second were Huvishka (the grandfather of Kanishka), Vāsishka (the father of Kanishka), Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva, those of the third were Vāsudeva II, Kanishka II and Vāsudeva III, and those of the fourth were Kidāra, Piro and Varahrān (*Bégram*, pp. 164-165).

We have shown elsewhere that the Kadphises rulers and the members of the house of Kanishka I belonged to one and the same family. We have no real evidence to prove that the grandfather and father of Kanishka I were called respectively as Huvishka and Vāsishka (B. N. Mukherjee, *Op. cit.*, pp. 49-50 and 56 f; see also above n. 3). There is also no necessity, at least in the present state of our knowledge, to dissociate the house of Kanishka I from the family of Vāsudeva II and Kanishka II (really III) (B. N. Mukherjee, *Op. cit.*, pp. 80 f). It is also doubtful whether Kidāra was a genuine Yüeh-chih or a Kushāṇa ruler (*Ibid.*, p. 92, f.n. 1). These considerations do not allow us either to include Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II in a group separate from that of Kanishka I, or to accept R. Ghirshman's interpretation of the Indian evidence (Puranic source) cited by him.

APPENDIX II

THE DATE OF THE *PERIPLOUS TES ERYTHRAS THALASSES*

The *Periplous Tes Erythras Thalasses* or the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* contains an account of the commerce and navigation between Egypt (in the Roman empire) and some other parts of the eastern world including India.[1] H. Frisk's philological analysis of this text[2] indicates, as remarked by J. A. B. Palmer, a single "compiler" of the information contained in it.[3] It is considered that this author was an anonymous Greek sailor, who resided in Egypt and himself visited several countries in connection with that trade.[4] Hence he himself must have travelled by sea to many of the ports referred to in his work before it was finally drafted.

The text, which appears to be a sort of log-book, might have been finalised in the course of his active participation in sea-borne commerce or even long after his retirement from it. In either case his sources were the data gathered at several ports in different years. Hence it is highly probable that all the pieces of information thus collected do not refer to one particular period. Thus an evidence, described by the author of the *Periplus* as contemporary, may allude to any time of his career as a sea pilot, which could not well have lasted for much more than forty or forty-five years.

It is well-known that the *Periplus* refers to a reigning Nabataean king called Malikos (Malichas).[5]

Since there was no Nabataean kingdom after its inclusion within the Roman empire in c. A.D. 105,[6] this information must be placed in or before that year. This would mean that any event synchronising with the age of our author's maritime career cannot be ascribed to any time after about the middle of the 2nd century A.D.

The same *Periplus* also mentions Manbanos (Manbanus) as reigning over Syrastrene (Surāshṭra) and some other tracts of Western India.[7] The only person who held such areas before c. A.D. 150 (the latest possible time-limit for the beginning of the rule of Manbanos) and at the same time whose name could have been transliterated into Greek as *Manbanos*, was Nahapāna.[8] As it has been shown above, such a transliteration is philologically possible (Chapter IV).[9]

We have already noted that the earliest possible date for Nahapāna's rule should not be placed before c. A.D. 48-49 (see above p. 104). This would indicate that the author of the *Periplus* was already a seafarer sometime in or after c. A.D. 48-49, and that the whole of his life as a sailor is to be placed roughly after the epoch of the Christian Era.

These conclusions reveal that any incident, indicated by the author of the *Periplus* as a contemporary one, should be ascribed to sometime between c. A.D. 1 and 150. A more accurate date for each of such testimonies is to be ascertained on the basis of its internal evidence.[10]

NOTES

1. Frisk, *Periplus*, pp. 1 f.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-37.
3. *Classical Quarterly*, vol. XLI, p. 140.
4. Schoff, *Periplus*, pp. 15-16 ; *JRAS* 1912, p. 783 ; etc.
5. *Periplus*, sec. 19 ; C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, vol. I, p. 272, f.n. 15.

   J. Pirenne has tried to read the relevant phrase in the *Periplus* as *Malichan Basilea anabatios* (J. Pirenne, *Le royaume sud-arabe de Qataban et sa datation*, pp. 188-189). But the scribe or scribes of the Heidelberg manuscript of the *Periplus* had definitely deleted the first *alpha* of *anabatios* by putting a sign of rejection (a semi-vertical stroke) across that letter (Frisk, *Periplus*, p. 30); and so we must not include it in our reading of the phrase in question. And the only intelligible interpretation of the word *nabatios* can be given by connecting it with the Nabataeans, a few of whose kings assumed the name "Malich(as)" (*Ibid.*, p. 6 ; Schoff, *Periplus*, pp. 29 and 103 ; G. F.Hill, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, pp. XIII-XIX).
6. *CAH*, vol. XI, p. 237.
7. *Periplus*, sec. 41.
8. *JA*, 1897, s. IX, vol. x, p. 137.
9. *JBBRAS*, os, 1907, p. 229 ; *JRAS*, 1907, p. 1043, f. n. 2 ; 1912, p. 785, f.n. 3 ; etc.
10. For different theories about the date of the *Periplus* advocated up to 1912, see Schoff, *Periplus*, pp. 7 f and 290-293. For the views expressed subsequently, see *JRAS*, 1912, pp. 783 f ; 1916, p. 835 ; 1917, p. 823 ; *Janus*, 1921, vol. I, pp. 55 f ; *Pauly*, vol VIII, cols. 1660-1661 ; vol. I, no. 2, cols. 1298 f ; *CAH*, vol. X, p. 882 ; *Classical Quarterly*, vol. XXII, pp. 92 f ; vol. XLI, pp. 137 f ; W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd edition), p. 148, f. n. 4 ; etc.

J. Pirenne and H. De Contenson have attempted to ascribe the *Periplus* to the 3rd century A.D. (J. Pirenne, *Op. cit.*, pp. 64-65, 200, etc ; *JA*, 1960, vol. CCXLVIII, pp. 76f ; 1961, vol. CCXLIX, pp. 451f ; consult also the opinion of R. C. Majumdar in *IHQ*, 1962, vol. XXXVIII, pp. 89-97). Our arguments against such a conclusion are being published elsewhere. Here we shall refer only to two of our main objections against Pirenne's reasonings.

J. Pirenne identifies King Malichas referred to in the *Periplus* with a certain Malichas living in the second half of the 2nd century A.D. and distinguishes the former from any Nabataean king of the same name (J. Pirenne, *Op. cit.*, pp. 187 f ; *JA*, 1961, vol. CCXLIX, p. 451).

We have already seen that Malichas mentioned by the *Periplus* must have been a Nabataean monarch (see above n. 5), and that there was no Nabataean kingdom after A. D. 106.

J. Pirenne has tried to ascribe Nahapāna, whom she identifies with Manbanus of the *Periplus*, to c. A. D. 225 (*JA*, 1961, vol. CCXLIX, pp. 456-457).

Any attempt to place Nahapāna in the 3rd century A. D. cannot be accepted in the present state of our knowledge. The Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman I of about the year 72 or c. A. D. 149-150 refers to his reign in Surāshṭra and Ānartta or the Kathiawad region. Hundreds of coins of most of the succeeding rulers of his family have been found in the same area (*JNSI*, 1956, vol. XVIII, pp. 220-221). This should mean the continuous authority of Rudradāman I's dynasty over that zone from at least c. A. D. 150 to the first possible break in its rule, which may have occurred in or after the year 226 or c. A. D. 304 (*CCADWK*, p. CXL).

The evidence of a few epigraphs of Ushavadāta indicates the inclusion of the same Kathiawad region within Nahapāna's dominions (*EI*, vol. VII, pp. 57 f ; vol. VIII, pp. 78 f.).

But the reasons stated above do not suggest his reign in the territory in question in the 3rd century A. D. Hence Manbanus, who also held the identical area (*Periplus*, sec. 41) and was the same as Nahapāna, probably did not flourish in c. A. D. 225. Known facts suggest that the rule of Manbanus—Nahapāna ended much earlier.

The upshot of this discussion is that the *Periplus* cannot be placed in the 3rd century A. D.

APPENDIX III

THE DATE OF THE *GEOGRAPHIKE HUPHEGESIS* OF PTOLEMY

Ptolemy did not, as a contrast to the writer of the *Periplus*, himself visit India. His knowledge of it was derived from the itineraries of sailors, merchants and travellers[1] as well as written accounts.[2] Hence the date of the composition of his *Geographike Huphegesis* can only betray the *terminus ad quem* of the chronology of any such information. The *terminus a quo* should be determined on the grounds of its own testimony.

According to Suidas, Ptolemy was alive in the time of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180),[3] whereas the the Book of the *Firhist* of Ibn Abi Ya'kub an-Nadim (c. A.D. 987) indicates that our geographer flourished during the reigns of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138) and Antoninus (A.D. 138-161).[4] Thus Ptolemy did not die before A.D. 161. On the other hand, since he is known to have made astronomical calculations between c. March, A.D. 127 and February, A.D. 141,[5] he must have been sufficiently mature in age—say at least 20 years old—on the former date. So he was born by c. March of A.D. 107. And if Abulwafa correctly reported that Ptolemy lived for 78 years,[6] the date of his birth may be placed between sometime of c. A.D. 83 and c. March of A.D. 107, and that of his death between sometime of c. A.D. 161 and c. March of A.D. 185.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Ptolemy himself referred to his astronomical work *Mathematike Syntaxis* in his *Geographike Huphegesis.*[7] So the latter must have been completed after the former.[8] The *Mathematike Syntaxis* or the *Almagest*[9] was in its turn subsequent to his astronomical observations made between c. March of A.D. 127 and c. February of A.D. 141,[10] and was presupposed by the contents of the Canobus inscription of A.D. 147-148.[11] Hence the *Mathematike Syntaxis* was written between c. February of A.D. 141 and sometime of c. A.D. 147-148. So the *Geography* was composed between c. February of A.D. 141 and the death of Ptolemy sometime in the period ranging from sometime of c. A D. 161 to c. March of A.D. 185.

It should, however, be taken into account that Ptolemy might have written his *Geography* long before his death. He actually intimated in his *Almagest* an intention to compose a geographical work,[12] and might have done so immediately or shortly after completing his book on astronomy (between c. February of A.D. 141 and sometime of A.D. 147-148). And since much of his information on India, incorporated in his *Geography,*[13] may have been gathered during the years of his astronomical calculations from c. A.D. 127 to 141, such data can not reasonably be placed after c. A.D. 150. The more exact date for each of such sources has to be ascertained with the help of internal evidence.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

NOTES

1. *Ptolemy*, I, 7 ; I, 12, 9 ; I, 17, 3-5 ; etc.
2. *JRAS*, 1941, pp. 213-222.
3. *Pauly*, vol. XXIII, no. 2, cols. 1782-1790.
4. *Ibid.*, col. 1790. E. H. Bunbury observed that "the death of Antoninus is mentioned in the chronological work of Ptolemy called *Kanon Basileion*" (E. H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography* (2nd edition), vol. II, p. 546, f. n. 3).
5. *Pauly*, vol. XXIII, no. 2, cols. 1788 and 1797.
6. *Ibid.*, col. 1790.
7. *Ptolemy*, VIII, 2, 3.
8. E.H, Bunbury, *Op. cit.*, pp. 546- 547.
9. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p 746.
10. *Pauly*, vol. XXIII, no. 2, col. 1788. See also E. H. Bunbury, *Op. cit.*, p. 546, f.n. 2.
11. The Canobus epigraph is dated in the year 10 of the reign of Antoninus Pius, corresponding to A. D. 147-148 (*Pauly*, vol. XXIII, no. 2, cols. 1788 and 1823). It has been suggested that Ptolemy himself was the author of this record (*Ibid.*; *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 746).
12. E. H. Bunbury pointed out that in the second book of Ptolemy's *Almagest* the author had expressed a desire to compose a geographical work indicating "the positions of principal places on the earth's surface by their latitudes and longitudes" (E. H. Bunbury, *Op. cit.*, p. 547, f.n. 4). This he actually did in his *Geography*.
13. *Ptolemy*, VII, 1, 1-96 ; VII, 2 1f ; etc.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AI	*Ancient India, Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, New Delhi.
AHD	Jouveau-Dubreuil, G., *Ancient History of the Deccan*, Pondicherry, 1920.
AIU	Majumdar, R. C. (editor), *The Age of Imperial Unity, The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. II, Bombay, 1951.
Annals (edited by de Goeje, M. J.)	Al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh-al-rusūl Wa'l-mulūk* (de Geoje, M. J., *Selections from the Annals of Ṭabarī*, Semitic Study Series, no. 1, Leiden, 1902 ; Barth, J., de Goeje, M. J., etc (editors), *Annales auctore Abu Djafar Mohammed Ibn Djarir-at-Tabari*, 15 vols., Khayats. Beirut, 1965.
ASIAR	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports*, Calcutta and Delhi.
ASWI	*Archaeological Survey of Western India* (edited by Burgess, Jas.), London.
BEFÉO	*Bulletin de l'École Francaise d'Extréme-Orient*, Hanoi and Paris.

Bégram	Ghirshman, R., *Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans, Mémories de la Délégation Archéologique Francaise en Afghanistan*, vol. XII, Cairo, 1946.
BG	*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. I, Parts I and II, Bombay, 1896.
BI	Bibliotheca Indica Series, Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
B. N. Mukherjee, *Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*.	Mukherjee, B. N., *The Kushāṇa Genealogy* (*Studies in Kushāṇa Genealogy and Chronology*, vol. I), Calcutta, 1967.
BSOAS	*The Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*; London.
Bühler, *Table*	Tafel nr. I-IX of Bühler, G., *Indische Paläographie, Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1896.
CCADWK	Rapson E. J., *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty the Western Kṣatrapas the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the "Bodhi" Dynasty*, London, 1908.
CHI	Rapson, E. J. (editor), *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I —*Ancient India*, Cambridge, 1922.

CHS	PanKu, *Ch'ien Han-shu* (T'ung-wen shu-chü edition).
CII	Konow, S., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, pt.I, —*Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśoka*, Calcutta, 1929.
Com. His. Ind.	Sastri, K. A. Nilakanta (editor), *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. II—*The Mauryas and the Sātavāhanas*, 325 B. C.—A. D. 300, Calcutta, 1957.
CSHI	Allan, J., Haig, T. W., and Dodwell, H. H., *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, Cambridge, 1934.
DKA	Pargiter, F. E, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Oxford, 1913.
EHD	Bhandarkar, R. G , *Early History of the Deccan Down to the Mohammadan Conquest* (Utgikar, N. D. (editor). *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, vol. III, Poona, 1927, pp. 1-198).
EHDY	Yazdani, G. (editor), *The Early History of the Deccan*, 2 vols., London, 1960.
EHI	Smith, V. A., *The Early History of India* (3rd edition or 4th edition), Oxford.

EHNI	Chattopadhyaya, S., *Early History of North India, From the Fall of the Mauryas to the Death of Harsha*, c. 200 B.C. —A.D. 650, Calcutta, 1958.
EI	*Epigraphia Indica*, Calcutta and Delhi.
Epitome (or *Justin*)	Justinus, *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum* (edited by Regnier, A., Paris, 1849).
Eranshahr	Marquart, J., "Eranšahr, nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i," *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, *ns*, vol. III, pt. 2 (1899-1901).
Frisk, *Periplus*	Frisk, H. (editor), *Le Périple de la Mer Érythrée*, Götebarg, 1927.
HHS	Fan Yeh, *Hou Han-shu* (Ssu-pu pie-yao edition).
IA	*Indian Antiquary*, Bombay.
IAAR	*Indian Archaeology* (Year)—*A Review*, New Delhi.
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
India Antiqua	*India Antiqua, A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented by his Friends and Pupils to Jean Philippe Vogel*, *C.I.E.*, Leyden, 1947.

JA	*Journal Asiatique*, Paris.
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, New Haven (Connecticut).
JAS	*The Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta.
JASB	*The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
JBBRAS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
JBORS	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
JIH	*Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum.
JNSI	*The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Calcutta, Bombay and Varanasi.
JPASB	*The Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
JRAS	*The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London.
JRASBL	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta (see also *JASB*).
JUPHS	*The Journal af the U. P. Historical Society*, Lucknow.
Karlgren	Karlgren, B., *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, Paris, 1923.

Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*	Lüders, H., *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to A.D. 400, with the Exception of those of Aśoka* (*EI*, vol. X, Appendix).
Mathura Inscriptions	Lüders, H., *Mathurā Inscriptions* (edited by Janert, K. L.), Göttingen, 1961.
McCrindle, *Ptolemy*	*McCrindle's Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy* (edited by Majumdar-Sastri, S. N.) Calcutta, 1927.
Nanjio	Nanjio, B., *A Catalogue of Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, Oxford, 1883.
NC	*The Numismatic Chronicle (and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society)*, London.
NH	*Naturalis Historia* (Loeb Classical Library edition, 10 vols., London and Cambridge, Mass , 1956-1963).
NIA	*New Indian Antiquary*, Bombay.
NNM	*Numismatic Notes and Monographs* (Numismatic Society of India, Banaras).
Oxford Classical Dictionary	Carry, M., *et. al.*, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (reprint), Oxford, 1961.
Pauly	Vissowa, G. (editor), *Paulys Realencyclopadie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1893.

PCDK	*Proceedings of the Conference on the Date of Kanishka I* (held under the auspices of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in 1960) (in press).
Periplus	*Periplous Tes Erythras Thallasses* or *Periplus Maris Erythraei* [Frisk, H. (editor), *Le Périple de la Mar Érythrée*, Göteborg,, 1927].
PHAI	Raychaudhuri, H. C., *Political History of Ancient India* (5th edition), Calcutta, 1950.
PIHC	*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.*
Ptolemy	Ptolemy, C., *Geographike Huphegesis* (edited by Nobbe, C. F. A., 3 vols., Leipzig, 1898).
Renou, *Ptolemy*	Renou, L., *La Géographie de Ptolémee L'Inde, VII, 1·4*, Paris, 1925.
Śakas in India	Chattopadhyaya, S., *The Śakas in India*, Santiniketan, 1955.
SBAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin.
Schoff, *Periplus*	Schoff, W. H. (translator), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, New York, 1912.
Schefner, *Tāranātha* (text)	Schiefner, A. (editor), *Tāranāthae de Doctrinae Buddhicae in India Propagatione Narratio*, Petropoli, 1868.

Sciefner, *Tāranātha* (translation)	Schiefner, A. (translator), *Tāranāthas Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, St. Petersberg, 1869.
Scythian Period or *The "Scythian" Period*	Lohuizen-De Leeuw, J. E. Van, *The "Scythian" Period. An Approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy and Palaeography of North India from the 1st Century B.C.* to the *3rd Century A.D.*, Leiden, 1949.
SI	Sircar, D. C., *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilisation*, vol. I—*From the Sixth Century B.C. to the Sixth Century A.D.* (1st edition), Calcutta, 1942.
Strabo	Strabo, *Geographikon* (Loeb Classical Library edition, 8 vols., reprint, London and Cambridge, Mass. 1959-1961).
Taḥqīq-i-Hind	Al Bīrūnī, *Taḥqīq-i-Hind* (*Kitābo-Abir Rayhān Mohammad bin Ahmed-al-Bīrūnī Fi Taḥqīq-i-Ma lil-Hind Min Maqulatin Maqbulatin Fil-Aql-i-au-Marzulātin*).
Taisho Tripiṭaka	Takakusu, J. and Watanabe, K. (editors), *Taisho Issaikyo*, Tokyo, 1924-1929.
Taxila	Marshall, J., *Taxila, An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations Carried Out Under the Order of the Government of India Between the Years 1913 and 1934*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1951.

TP	*T'oung Pao*, Leiden.
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzing and Wiesbaden.

INDEX

The words having Italic and also non-Italic forms are recorded in this index in either of them.

INDEX

Ābhīra(s) - 85, 88, 89.
Ābu-l Hasan 'Ali bin Muhammad al Jili - 81.
Abu Salih bin Sha'aib bin Jāmi - 81.
Acesines - 89.
Adam's bridge - 5.
Ādihana - 33, 34.
Afghanistan - 24.
Aiyanger, P. T. S. - 97.
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa - 2, 11.
Akabarous (Akabaros ?) - 17.
Ākara - 73, 77, 78, 109, 115, 116.
Al Bīrūnī - 49, 68, 69, 71.
Alexander - 59, 72, 89.
Allahabad - 15, 59.
Allahabad Pillar inscription - 5, 6.
Amitatosala - 13.
Anabaseos Alexandrou - 84.
Ananta Varman - 5.
Ānartta - 74, 90, 91, 126.
Ānarttapura - 90.
Andhau - 102.
Andhra(s) - 13, 31, 67, 96.
Andhra Pradesh - 5, 6, 9, 56.
Antoninus Pius - 128, 130.
Āparānta - 22, 42.
Aparaṁta - 73.
Aparāntikā (Abarātikā or Avaraikā) - 57, 58.
Arabian Sea - 9.
Arabica - 74, 75.
Arabikes - 57, 58.
Ara (Epigraph) - 53.
Arachosia - 22, 42.
Arachosii - 30.
Aratii - 30.
Aravalli hills - 11, 73, 74.
Ariacha or Arica Sandanorum or Sadanorum (or Ariakes Sadinon) - 18, 32, 33, 57, 58.
Ariaka, Aricha or *Arica* - 57.
Arrian - 57, 84, 89, 91.
Ariake - 22, 57.
Arthaśāstra - 112.
Arvamuthan, T. G. - 97.
Ārya(s) - 51. 57.
Āryaka (> *Āriyaka* > *Āriaka* >*Ārika*> *Arikha* = *Aricha*) - 57, 58.
Aryan - 4, 7, 12.
Ashkālu-l Bilad - 90.
Ashṭādhyāyī - 12.
Aśvaghosha - 11. 18, 26, 48, 49.
Ātāhana, Ādāhana - 33, 34.
Ātavāhana - 33.
Atharva Veda - 2, 11.
Aurangabad - 29.
Avaṁti (Avanti) - 6, 7, 73.
Avanti-Dakshiṇāpatha (Dakkhiṇāpatha) - 7.
Awasthi, A. L. - 16.
Ayodhyā - 39, 40.
Azes Era - 89.

The words having Italic and also non-Italic forms are recorded in this index in either of them.

INDEX

Ābhīra(s) - 85, 88, 89.
Ābu-l Hasan 'Ali bin Muhammad al Jili - 81.
Abu Salih bin Sha'aib bin Jāmi - 81.
Acesines - 89.
Adam's bridge - 5.
Ādihana - 33, 34.
Afghanistan - 24.
Aiyanger, P. T. S. - 97.
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa - 2, 11.
Akabarous (Akabaros ?) - 17.
Ākara - 73, 77, 78, 109, 115, 116.
Al Bīrūnī - 49, 68, 69, 71.
Alexander - 59, 72, 89.
Allahabad - 15, 59.
Allahabad Pillar inscription - 5, 6.
Amitatosala - 13.
Anabaseos Alexandrou - 84.
Ananta Varman - 5.
Ānartta - 74, 90, 91, 126.
Ānarttapura - 90.
Andhau - 102.
Andhra(s) - 13, 31, 67, 96.
Andhra Pradesh - 5, 6, 9, 56.
Antoninus Pius - 128, 130.
Āparānta - 22, 42.
Aparaṁta - 73.
Aparāntikā (Abarātikā or Avaraikā) - 57, 58.
Arabian Sea - 9.
Arabica - 74, 75.
Arabikes - 57, 58.
Ara (Epigraph) - 53.
Arachosia - 22, 42.
Arachosii - 30.
Aratii - 30.
Aravalli hills - 11, 73, 74.
Ariacha or Arica Sandanorum or Sadanorum (or Ariakes Sadinon) - 18, 32, 33, 57, 58.
Ariaka, Aricha or *Arica* - 57.
Arrian - 57, 84, 89, 91.
Ariake - 22, 57.
Arthaśāstra - 112.
Arvamuthan, T. G. - 97.
Ārya(s) - 51. 57.
Āryaka (> *Āriyaka* > *Āriaka* > *Ārika* > *Arikha* = *Aricha*) - 57, 58.
Aryan - 4, 7, 12.
Ashkālu-l Bilad - 90.
Ashṭādhyāyī - 12.
Aśvaghosha - 11. 18, 26, 48, 49.
Ātāhana, Ādāhana - 33, 34.
Ātavāhana - 33.
Atharva Veda - 2, 11.
Aurangabad - 29.
Avaṁti (Avanti) - 6, 7, 73.
Avanti-Dakshiṇāpatha (Dakkhiṇāpatha) - 7.
Awasthi, A. L. - 16.
Ayodhyā - 39, 40.
Azes Era - 89.

Bactria - 107.
Bactrians - 30, 31, 107, 108.
Bahawalpur - 76.
Badakhshan - 107.
Bailey, H. W. - 23, 47, 121.
Baithano - 57.
Bala - 94.
Balakumāra - 96.
Baleokouros - 57.
Balaśri - 90.
Banbury, E. H. - 130.
Banerjea, J. N. - 10. 13, 46, 93.
Banerjee, R. D. - 10.
Banerjee - Sastri, A. - 10, 22, 23, 42.
Barygaza (Broach) - 17, 23, 29, 30, 107, 110, 114.
Basak, R. G. - 15, 112.
Basham, A. L.—93.
Bassein—32.
Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra-12.
Bay of Bengal—9.
Beal, S.—49.
Berar—4.
Bhādrapada—84.
Bhāgavata Purāṇa – 31.
Bhandara—119.
Bhandarkar, D. R.—10.
Bhandarkar, R. G.—57.
Bharata—3, 11, 12.
Bhopal—11, 73.
Bible—56.
Bibliotheca Indica Series—13.
Bibliothekes Historikes—59, 91.
Bilaspur—4, 5.
Bivar, A. D. H.—51.
Bodhisattva—78, 94.
Bombay—18, 29.
Boyer—42, 112.
Brāhmī—56, 93.
Brahui mountain—22.
Bṛihat Saṁhitā—55, 57.
Buddha Prakash—48.
Buddhism—28, 44, 85, 88.
Buddhist texts—11, 13.
Buddha—60, 77.
Buddhaghosha—14.
Bstan-hgyur—61.
Bühler, G.—10.

Caldwell, R.—58.
Candana (*Chandana*)—24.
Cannanore—8.
Cape Comorin—3.
Caracalla—52.
Central Vindhyas—3, 4.
Central zone—2, 6.
Ceylon—83, 112.
Chakladar, H. C.—12.
Chadana—24.
Chadrra—23.
Chanda—19, 23.
Chand(*a*)—19
Chanda, R. P.—92.
Chandan—47.
Chandān—23, 29.
Chandana—15, 18, 24-29, 42.
Chandan(*a*)—47.
Chandān(*a*)—19.
Chandanapāla—22, 23, 42, 47.
Chandra—19, 23-28, 47, 51-54.
Chandragupta (*Sandrokottos*)—54.

Chandra-Kanishka (Chandra Kanika)—24, 51.
Chand(r) ān(a) Kanishka—19.
Chandra-vaṁśa—19.
Chan-t'an—18, 19, 22-28, 54.
Chan-t'an Kanishka—19.
Charpentier, J.—52.
Charsada—31.
Chashṭana—22, 23, 42, 62, 87, 88, 100-103, 108, 109, 111, 116.
Chattopadhyaya, S.—112.
Chavannes, E.—46, 79.
Chen-t'an—18, 19, 23-28, 44, 54.
Chen-t'an Chia-ni-cha—26.
Chen-to—19, 23-28, 53.
Chera—96.
Chia-ni-cha—18, 41, 44, 49.
Chi-chia-yeh—18.
Chi-ni-cha—18, 25, 26, 44.
China—63.
Chitral—117.
Conobus inscription—129.
Chowdhary, S. N.—85, 89.
Christ—4, 7.
Christian Era—76, 77, 81.
Contenson, H. D.—129.
Chü-li—20, 21.
Chü-sha (race)—41, 44, 49.
Cowell, E. B.—11, 13.
Cunningham, C.—43.
Cureton, W.—113.
Curtius Rufus, Quintus—59, 60.
Cutch—16, 108, 109.

Dakhinabades—8.
Dakhiṇāpatha—6, 7, 14. 15.
Dakhiṇāpaṭha—7, 8.
Dakhiṇajanapada—14.
Dakshiṇa—2. 8, 9. 14, 15.
Dakshiṇā—2, 10, 12.
Dakshiṇa deśa—5.
Dakshiṇā-diś—2.
Dakshiṇa Kosala—5.
Dakshiṇā padā—10.
Dakshiṇāpatha—3-7, 10, 12, 14-16, 109.
Dakshiṇa Samudra—7.
Dākshiṇātya—3, 8, 16.
Dalal, C. D.—13, 15.
Damiḷa—15.
Deccan—1, 2, 9, 16-18, 22, 29, 32, 42, 63. 68, 79, 100, 109, 119.
Deśīnāmamālā—82.
Devaputra—78.
Devnimori—84, 85, 86, 87, 89.
Dey, N. L.—13.
Dhar—110.
Dharmadeva—78.
Dikshit, S. B.—111.
Dikshitar, V. V. R.—96, 97.
Dimurike—8.
Diomedes—52.
Diodorus Siculus—59, 91.
Divyāvadāna—11.
Dowson, J.—81, 90.
Draviḍ (Drāviḍa)—46.
Draviḍaka—8, 15, 21. 46, 58.
Draviḍa deśa—58.
Dudley Stamp, L—16.

Eastern Daccan—56, 58.
Eastern Division—59.
Eastern Ghats—6.

Eastern India—41.
Eastern Malwa—77, 78, 94.
Eastern region—2, 5.
Eastern zone—6.
Egypt—123.
Elliot, H. M.—81, 90.
Epitome—59.
Eratosthenes—91.
Europe—46.

Fa-hsien—14, 15.
Far South—8.
Fausboll, V.—14.
Filliozat, J.—11.
Five Indies—81.
Fleet, J. F.—112.
Fo—60.
Fo-kuo-chi—14.
Foucher, A.—92, 94.
Frisk—42, 58.
Fu fa-tsang yin yüan chuan—18, 25.
Führer—93.
Fu-nan—54.

Gaekawad's Oriental Series—11-13, 15
Gallienus—52.
Gandaraei—30, 55.
Gandavyūha-sūtra—13.
Gandhāra—54, 55, 64.
Gandhāris—55.
Gaṅgā—39.
Gangana—39.
Ganganoi—39, 40, 60.
Gangaridae—59.
Ganges—14, 15, 39, 40, 96.
Ganjam—3, 6.
Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi—21, 72-78, 97-99, 101-104, 110-111.
Gaya—3, 5.
Geographike Huphegegis (*Geography*)—17, 18, 39, 57, 58, 73, 128-130.
Ghirshman, R.—10, 22, 121, 122.
Ghosh, B.—72.
Ghosh, M.—11.
Göbl, R.—120.
Godāvarī—5, 6, 12, 58.
Gogra—39.
Gopalachari, K.—84.
Gotarzes II—106.
Greek—123.
Guchen area—61.
Gujarat—3, 84, 90, 102.
Gulf of Cambay—4.
Gupta(s)—87.

Hadrian—128.
Hamid, H.—92.
Hāl (Hāla)—67, 68, 81, 82.
Harivaṁśa Purāṇa—112.
Hātakaṇi—32.
Heidelberg University Manuscript—58, 105, 113.
Hemachandra—82.
Hebrew Bible—56.
Henning, W. B.—52.
Heraclea Pontica—52.
Heracles—52.
Hill, G. F.—125.
Himālaya(s)—96.
Himavat—11.

Hindus – 81.
Hinduwani – 66, 81.
Hio tsin t'ao yüan – 79.
Hirahadagalli (inscription) – 56.
Hiru Yaña Hātakaṇi – 82.
Historiarum Alexandri Magni Macedonis – 59.
HouHan-shu – 20. 22, 34, 60, 75, 105, 106.
Huber, H. – 63, 64, 79, 80.
Hu Chen-t'an (Chen-t'an of Humi) – 54.
Hu-li – 54.
Hu-mi – 54.
Huvishka – 52, 106, 119-122.
Hydrotes (Hydraotes) – 89.

Ibn Abi Ya'kub an-Nadim—128.
Ibn Haukal – 73, 90.
Iberia – 74.
Iḷangovaḍigaḷ – 96.
India – 3-9, 31, 34, 39-41, 61, 63, 64, 70, 74, 75. 81.
Indian Ocean – 7.
Indike – 57.
Indo-Roman—116.
Indus – 73-76.
Īśvarasena – 85, 88.

Jain, B. C.—114.
Jandrat or Jayadratha – 81, 82.
Jātaka – 6, 7, 14.
Jasdan – 94.
Jayaswal, K. P. – 95.
Jinasena—112.
Junagadh – 74, 90, 108, 126.
Justin – 59.

Kadphis(es) (and its variants)—120.
Kadphises (I) – 9.
Kafiristan—107.
Kaira grant – 5.
Kak, R. C. – 92.
Kākanāda or Kākanādaboṭa – 77.
Kalachuri-Chedi Era – 85.
Kalhaṇa – 82, 83.
Kaliṅga – 5, 6, 13, 14.
Kaliṅgavana – 13, 14.
Kalliena – 17, 29, 30, 31.
Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā – 26, 44, 48, 49.
Kalyan (Kalyāṇa) – 17, 18, 29-31.
Kāmasūtra – 4, 12, 13, 95, 96.
Kanaka – 96-99.
Kanakasabhai, V. – 16, 58, 96, 97.
Kanheri record – 88.
Kanik – 49, 68-71.
Kanika – 27, 40, 41, 45, 49-51, 61 ,97-99, 115.
Ka-ni-kaḥi-rgyal-po – 61.
Ka-ni-ka-rgyal – 61.
Kanishka (I) – 1, 9-11, 17-19, 22-29, 31, 34, 41, 42, 44, 45, 47-54, 62-64, 66, 67, 69-72, 76-80, 83, 85, 88, 94-100 106-109, 114-116, 119-122.
Kanishka II – 41, 53, 93, 119, 121, 122.
Kanishka III—41,53, 119, 121, 122.
Kanishka Era – 50, 52, 76, 78, 92, 93.
Kanoj (Kanauj) – 68, 69.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Kanthikos - 75.
Kan-to - 64.
Kao-Seng Fa-hsien Chuan - 82.
Kārddamaka - 88.
Karle—110.
Karlgren - 44, 48, 59, 60.
Karpūra-mañjarī - 12.
Karwar Point—8.
Kashi Sanskrit Series - 13.
Kashmīr (Kāśmīra) - 67, 68, 70, 82, 83.
Kathaeans—89.
Kathā-sarit-sāgara—95, 96.
Kathiawad—16, 74, 89, 91.
Kathika(s)—84-86, 88, 89.
Kauśāmbī—14.
Kāvya-mīmāṁsā—4, 13, 15.
Keith, A.B. - 10.
Kennedy, J.—61.
Khatiyas—72, 89.
Khatriaioi—73, 77.
Kherosonesos—8.
Khotan—24, 40.
Khotanese Śaka Legend—23.
Kia-ni-che-kia—80.
Kia-ni-sö-kia—80.
Kia-tang or *Kia-che-kia-tang*—80.
Kidāra—121, 122.
Ki-eul.—19.
Ki-ni-cha—54.
Kolhapur district—21.
Konkan—17, 23.
Konow, S.—10, 12.
Koþ—49.
Kosala (s)—4, 5.
Kosam—14.
Koþano—49.
Kṛishṇā—16.
Krishnamachari, C. R.—93.
Kshaharāta—110.
Kshatrapa(s)—22, 85-89, 108, 114.
Kshatriya—73.
Kajula Kadphises—107, 108, 119-122.
Kukura—73, 74, 90.
Kula-tilaka Kanishka—26, 48.
Kumārajīva—18.
Kumāralabdha—49.
Kumāralāta—26, 41, 44, 49.
Kuntala Sātakarṇi—95, 96.
Kuśa race—27, 44, 49.
Kushāṇa(s)—1, 2, 8-10, 19, 20, 22, 23, 27, 31, 41, 44, 49-54, 71, 72, 75, 76, 78, 79, 85, 88, 89, 93-95, 106-109, 114-116.
Kushāṇa Brāhmī—77, 78.
Kushāṇa Kaneshko—51.
Kutch (Cutch)—75.

Larike—22, 100, 101.
Laufer, B.—79.
Lāṭa—22, 42.
Lāṭika—58.
Lassen, C.—55, 58.
Law, B. C.—12, 14, 16.
Legge, J.—14.
Li—40.
Leuke nesos—8.
Limurike (Limyrike)—8. 58.
Little Yüeh-chih—22.
Little Rann of Cutch—91.
Li-Wei-t'o—20, 21, 40.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Li Yun-Kou—79.

Li-yul-gyi lo-rgyus (*The Annals of the Li Country*)—40.

Lo Chen-t'an (Lo-lu-i-t'o Chen-t'an (?)—54.

Lower Indus—22, 42.

Lüders, H.—26, 48, 49, 61, 93.

Lunar family—19, 25, 28, 52.

Macdonell, A.—10.

Madhya-deśa—2, 6. 11, 59, 62.

Madhyamā-Pratishṭhā-diś—2.

Maenchen-Helfen, O.—10.

Magadha—61, 63.

Mahābhārata—4, 5, 12, 13, 16, 47, 48, 51, 58, 60, 81.

Mahākshatrapa—85, 87, 101, 109, 114, 115.

Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena I—85.

Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena III—87-89.

Mahārājā—78.

Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha—19, 27, 45, 49-51.

Mahārāshṭra—9.

Mahāvagga—11.

Mahāvastu—15.

Mahendra—3, 6.

Mahendrāditya—95.

Mahendra Sātakarṇi—95.

Maheswar—5.

Mahi (Mais)—101.

Māhishmatī—5.

Maho—51, 53.

Maho Kaneshko—52.

Maikal—3, 4, 5.

Mais—105.

Maitrakas—90.

Majjhimadeśa—11.

Majumdar, N. G.—92-94.

Majumdar, R. C.—51, 59, 80, 82, 106.

Majumdar-Sastri, S. N.—15, 55.

Malabar—8.

Malalasekera, G. P.—12, 14-16.

Mālava (Malwa)—22, 50, 115.

Mālava Era—87, 89.

Malaya—3.

Malayapura—95.

Malayavatī—95, 96.

Malichas (Malikos)—123-126.

Malleret, L.—46.

Malwa—6, 7, 15, 50, 110, 115.

Ma-ming (Aśvaghosha)—48.

Manbanos (Manbanus)—30, 74, 75, 91, 105, 108, 124-127.

Mandasor—87.

Mandhata—5.

Maṇimekalai—97.

Manu-saṁhitā—59.

Manu-smṛiti—2, 11.

Mao (Māb)—51, 53.

Marcus Aurelius—128.

Mardan—51.

Mārggaśirsha—101, 106.

Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa—12, 55, 60.

Marquart, J.—91.

Marshall, J.—92, 94.

Mat—120.

Mathematike Syntaxis (*Almagest*)—129, 130.

Mathurā—22, 92-94.
Mātṛicheṭa—27, 41, 45, 50.
Matsya Purāṇa—5, 13.
Maukhari—5.
McCrindle, J. W.—55, 56-58, 60, 61, 84, 91.
Mdo (Sūtra)—61.
Megasthenes—91.
Mekala (Maikal)—3, 4.
Mekala-sutā—4.
Meharauli (inscription)—51.
Mehsana—90.
Mewasa—87.
Miaos (Heraos)—119, 121.
Middle country—6, 11.
Middle Iranian—121.
Middle quarter—2.
Mihirakula—82, 83.
Mirashi, V. V.—85, 87, 88.
Mleccha (s)—95, 96.
Monier-Williams, M.—10, 45, 62.
Moon God—51.
M. P. (Madhya Pradesh)—3, 5, 6.
Mujmalu-t Tawārīkh—66, 81.
Mukherjee, B. N.—9, 47, 48, 50, 52, 58, 59, 91, 93, 95, 113, 120-122.
Mysore—8, 9.

Nabataean—123-126.
Nagarjunakonda—56.
Nahapāna (Manbanus)—30, 75, 91, 101, 105, 108, 110-112, 114, 124-127.
Nanaghat (pass)—29, 94.
Nanjio—44, 45.
Narmadā—3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 13.
Nasika (Nasik, Nasik inscription)—43, 72-74, 85, 90, 101-104, 110, 114.
Naturalis Historia—57.
Nāṭyaśāstra—3-7, 11-13, 15.
Naura—8.
Neil, R. A.—11.
Nilakanta Sastri, K. A.—10, 59.
Nilgiris—3.
North—12.
Northern quarter—2.
North(ern) India—4, 31, 40, 41, 70. 71, 96, 97.
North Kanara—8.
North(ern) Kathiawad—73, 74, 75, 91.
North Konkan—22, 73, 74.
Northern Province—61.
North-Western Deccan—23, 33, 42.
North-Western India—89.
Nuṟṟuvaṟ Kaṇṇar—96-98.

Old Iranian—121.
Ophir—56.
Orissa—5, 6, 9.
Osmanabad district—29.
Ouppara (i. e., Opara)—17, 32, 42.
Ozene—100, 101.

***Pāia**-sadda-mahāṇṇavo*—14.
Pai hai—79.
Paithan (Paithana)——29, 57.
Pāl—62.

Pāla—22, 42, 62.
Palaisimoundou – 105, 112.
Palamañjara—3.
Palimbothra—57.
Pallava—56.
Palmer, J. A. B. – 123.
Pāṇini—12.
P'an-yüeh—46.
Pan Yung—34, 105.
Pārasamudra – 105.
Pārāyaṇa-vagga—12.
Pargiter, F. E.—12.
Pārichāta—73.
Pāripātra—11.
Paris—23.
Pāriyātra—73.
Parthian – 107.
Pāśāntika Palli—87.
Pāṭaliputra—57, 62.
Pattiṉi—96.
Pauly—90.
P'ei-li-wang—20, 21, 40.
P'ei Sung-chih—46.
Pelliot, P.—18, 63, 79.
Penzer, N. M.—95, 96.
Periplus (*Periplous Tes Erythras Thalasses*) (*Periplus Maris Erythraei*)—8, 15-19, 22, 28-32, 42, 43, 54-56, 58, 74, 75, 77, 91, 105, 107, 108, 112-114, 123-128.
Peshawar (Purushawar or Purushavar)—31, 49, 51, 68, 69.
Petavatthu—15.
Pigeon Island—8.
Pirenne, J.—125-126.
Pliny—57.
Polemaios (Siri Polemaios or Ptolemaios)—57, 103.
Poona—73.
Prāchī-diś—2.
Prasidae—59.
Prasii—59.
Pratīchī-diś – 2.
Prayāga—59, 60.
Proclais—31, 55, 107.
Ptolemy—17, 21, 22, 32-34, 39, 40, 43, 46, 56-58, 60, 61, 73, 75, 77, 84, 90, 91, 100, 101, 103, 112, 128-130.
Puḷumāvi—57.
Puri, B. N.—10, 47, 93.
Pushkalāvatī—31, 55, 107.

Quilandi – 8.
Quo, J. C.—60.
Qushani—107.

Raghuvaṁśa—51.
Raipur – 4, 5.
Rajan, S.—85.
Rājaśekhara—12, 13.
Rājataraṅgiṇī—67, 70, 81-83.
Rājātirāja—78.
Ramakrishna Kavi, M.—11.
Rama Rao, M.—56, 84.
Rāmāyaṇa—16, 55, 60.
Rao, G. V.—10.
Rapson, E. J. – 10, 111.
Raychaudhuri, H. C.—2, 3, 11, 12, 90.
Reinaud—81.
Rémusat, A.—14.
Renou, L.—11, 55, 60.

Rgya-gar-chos-hbyun—115.
Rgyal-po-chen-po-ka-ni-ka-la-Spriṅs-paḥi ḥphrin-yig – 27, 45.
Rhys Davids, T. W.—60.
Ṛig Veda—10.
Ṛishikas – 48.
Rockhill, W. W. – 61.
Rosenfield, J. M.—92.
Rudradāman I—85, 88, 90, 102, 106, 108, 126.
Rudrasena—84-88.
Rudrasena I—85.
Rudrasena III—88.
Rūpiamma—115.

Sabarkantha district—84.
Sachau, E. C. – 49, 82.
Sādāhana—33, 112.
Sadano(rum)—32, 34.
Saden(on), Sadan(on), Sadin(on), Adin(on), Adan(on), Aden(on)—32, 34.
Sādhana—55.
Sādihana—33, 34.
Sadineis—55.
Sadūsān—73.
Sahet-Mahet—41, 62.
Sahri Bahlol—51, 53.
Sahya—3,
Śaka (Kshatrapa)(s)—85, 95.
Śaka Era—85-88, 102, 111, 112.
Sāketa—21, 39-41, 61, 62.
Sāla—67, 68.
Sālāhaṇa—68.
Salalavatī – 11.
Sambalpur—4, 5.
Saminathaiyar, U. V.—96.
Samudra Gupta—5.
Saṁyukta-ratnapiṭaka-sūtra—45.
Sanchi—50, 77, 78, 93, 94.
Sandana—31.
Sandanes—17-19, 22, 23, 28, 29, 31, 47, 55.
Sandanorum—31, 32, 34, 56, 112.
Sando—53, 54.
Saṅghabhūti—19.
Saṅgharaksha—19.
Sankaranarayanan, S.—85.
Sankalia, H. D.—13.
San-kuo chih – 46, 59.
Sāragaṇa, Sāragana<Saraganou—43.
Sāragaṇi, Saragaṇi, (*Sāḍagaṇi*)—43.
Saraganes (*or Saraganos*)(*Saraganus*)—17, 30, 43.
Sarāvatī – 11.
Sarayū—39.
Sāriputta—60.
Sarju—39.
Sarnath—94.
Sastry, R. A.—13, 15.
Sātāhana-Sādāhana—33.
Sātahaṇi—33.
Sātakaṇa or Satakana—43.
Sātakaṇi, Sāṭakaṇi, Sāḍakaṇi, Sārakaṇi—43, 98.
Sātakani—32, 43.
Sātakarṇi—17, 30, 33, 43.
Śatakarṇin—96.
Sātavāhana(s)—7, 15; 17, 30-33, 43, 56, 57, 65-72, 75, 80, 83, 84, 95-99, 104.

Sātavāhanī – 33.

Satpura—9.

Saundarānanda Kāvya—11.

Sauvīra—76.

Schiefner, A.—50, 62, 115.

Schlegel, G. – 79.

Schoff, W. H.—15, 16, 42, 43, 54, 55, 58, 91, 125.

Scythia—74.

Seḍagiri—43.

Seng-chao—18.

Seng-chia-lo-ch'a so chi ching —19.

Śenguṭṭuvan—96-98.

Septuagint version of the *Bible* —56.

Setagiri (Śvetagiri)—43.

Seṭagiri—43.

Setakaṇṇika – 11.

Seth, H. T.—14, 45.

Setu—5.

Sewell, S. B.—111.

Sha-ch'i—20, 21, 39, 41, 61.

Sha-lu—60.

Shah-ji-ki Dheri—49.

Shen-tu—75, 105, 106.

Śilāppadikāram – 96-98.

Siṁhala – 82, 83.

Simylla – 103.

Sind – 22, 66-68, 73, 75-77, 82.

Sindhu – 75.

Sinologists – 79.

Sinthus – 74.

Sircar, D. C. – 10, 16, 48, 85, 86, 111.

Siri Yaña Sātakaṇi – 82.

Śivaskandavarmaṇ – 56.

Smith, V. A. – 10.

So-ked – 40, 41.

Sompura, K. F. – 85.

Sophera – 56.

So-t'o-p'o-hen – 65.

Souppara or Suppara – 42.

Souppāra or Sopārā – 17, 18, 32, 42.

Somadeva – 95, 96.

Sorath – 90.

Soudassana – 73.

South – 3, 12, 66, 83.

Southern country – 4, 15.

Southern Gujarat – 9.

South(ern) Kathiawad – 74, 75, 90.

Southern Kosala – 4.

Southern M. P. – 9.

Southern Mysore – 8.

Southern region—2, 3, 6.

Southern Sea – 3, 7.

Southern territory—6.

Southern zone—3, 6, 7.

South India – 20-22, 46, 65, 83, 99.

Srikantha Sastri, S.—94.

Sri Dharmapiṭaka-nidāna-sūtra —45.

Srinibas Ayenger, P. T. – 57.

Śroṇāparānta – 13.

Stein, M. A.—82, 83.

Strabo—60, 89, 91.

Stuck—58.

Stūpa—23, 76, 84, 86-88.

Sudarśana (Lake)—90.

Sui Vihar—76.

Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī—14.

Sunandana—31.
Surāshṭra—12, 22, 42, 74, 75, 77, 90, 105, 124, 126.
Surāshṭra-Mālava—22.
Surat—29.
Suraṭha—73, 74, 77.
Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra—18, 26.
Sutta-nipāta—12.
Suviśākha—90.
Sylvain Lévi—1, 9, 17-25, 29, 34, 41-43, 45-47, 52, 53, 63, 80, 82, 83.
Syrastrene—74, 75, 77, 105, 108, 124.

***T**a Chuang-yen lun ching*—18, 26, 49.
Tagara—29.
Taḥqīq-i-Hind—68, 83.
Ta-hsia—107.
Taisho Tripiṭaka—44, 45, 47, 48, 61, 82, 99.
T'ang—80.
Tanganoi—39, 40.
T'ang-shu—54.
Ṭankaṇa—60.
T'an-yao—18.
Taprobene—112.
Tāptī—3, 101.
Tāranātha—22, 42, 47, 50, 62, 115.
Tarn, W. W.—55.
Ta T'ang Ta Tzu-en-ssu San tsang-fa chih chuan—48, 49.
Tawney, C. H.—95.
Tchandana—24.
Tch'ang-ngan—80.
Ter—29.
Thomas, F. W.—10, 40, 47, 51, 61, 62.
Thondi—8.
Tiastenes—100.
T'ien-chu—20, 64, 75.
Ṭili—115.
Tinnevelly—3, 6.
Tochi—53.
Toγara (Tukhārā)—48.
Toṅ ri-(ri-)vi·da—21.
Tosala—13.
Travancore—3.
Tsa pao-tsang ching—18, 25, 48, 99.
Ts'in tai pi shu—79, 80.
Tuan Ch'eng-che (Touan Tch'eng-che)—63, 64, 80.
Tukhāra—25.
Tung—39, 60.
Tuṅgabhadrā—16.
Tuṅgaṇa(s) or Taṅgaṇa(s)—39, 40, 60.
Tung-li—20, 21, 39-41, 60-62.
Tun-huang—23.
Tyndis—8.

Udīchī-diś—2.
Ujjain(ī)—15, 95.
Ujjenī—15.
U. P. or Uttar Pradesh—59, 61.

Vadnagar—90.
Vaidya, P. L.—13.
Vaishṇava—51.
Vaiyapuri Pillai, S.—98.
Valabhī—90.

Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, J. E. —10, 46, 92.
Varahrān – 121.
Vārāṇasi, Vārāṇasī—22, 94.
Vāsashka—78, 93.
Vāsishka (Kushāṇa)—78, 93, 94, 119, 120.
Vāsishka (II ?)—120-122.
Vāśishṭhīputra (Puḷumāvi)—21, 43, 56, 72, 76, 78, 101-104, 110.
Vaskushāṇa or Vāsishka Kushāṇa—50, 77, 78, 92-94.
Vāsudeva I—53, 75, 76, 93, 106, 119-122.
Vāsu(deva II) Kushāṇa—93, 119-122.
Vāsus(h)ka—93.
Vātsyāyana—4, 13.
Vāyu Purāṇa—55.
Vidarbha—4.
Vidyalamkara, J.—48.
Vihāra—24, 49, 68, 69.
Vijaya—96-98.
Vijayakīrti—40, 97, 98.
Vikramāditya (alias Vishamaśīla)—95, 96.
Vikrama Era—89.
Vikramaśakti—95.
Vila(vāyakura) or *Viḷivāyakura*—21, 57.
V'ima Kadphises—22, 75, 76, 95, 105, 106, 108.
Vinaya Piṭaka—11.
Vindhya—2-9, 11, 73.
Vindhyan range—4.
Viśvasena—86, 87.
Vivien de Saint Martin, L.—60.
Vvāsishka—93.

Wadia, D. N.—16.
Wakhan—54, 107.
Wang Hiuan-tsö (Wang Hsüan-tz'u)—53, 64, 80.
Warmington, E. H. – 116.
Watters, T.—49.
Wei-chih—46.
Wei-lüeh—20, 22, 34, 46, 60.
Wei-mo-chie suo shuo ching chu—18.
Western—2.
Western Deccan—18, 30, 31, 33, 58, 102, 105, 108.
Western Ghats—3, 21.
Western Kshatrapas (Satrapal rulers)—85, 87, 88.
Western India—32, 56, 82, 85, 87, 89, 94.
Western Pakistan—53.
Wheeler, M.—55.
White Island—8.
Winternitz, M.—11, 12, 14, 49.
Wu K'ong—54.
Wylie, A.—79.

Xathroi—72.

Yajñaśri—82.
Yaśodhara – 13.
Yen-kao-chen – 75, 105.
Yüeh-chih—18-22, 25, 26, 28, 31, 34, 41, 44, 48, 52, 53, 75, 105-108.
Yu yang tsa tsu – 63, 64, 79, 80.

Zürcher, E. – 44-46.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

ADDENDA

1. p. 16. Add the following after the sentence ending with the term "Deccan" in line no. 35 :-

For a general topographical discussion on the Deccan, see also D. Das, *Economic History of the Deccan*, pp. 1-18.

2. p. 40. Add the following after the word "*Country*" in line no. 26 :—

or *Li yul chos-kyi lo-rgyus* (*The Rleigious Annals of the Li Country*).

3. p. 61. Add the following after "p. 119". in line no. 24 :—

See also R. E. Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan*, pp. 78f.

4. p. 115. Add the following after the sentence ending with the word "flourished" in line no. 19 :—

(In this connection see Abul Fazal, '*Ain-i-Ākbari*, III, 15 ; H. S. Jarrett and J. N. Sarkar, '*Ain-i-Ākbari of Abul Fazl-i-'Allami*, vol. II, pp. 162f ; Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 224 ; Ball, *Travernier's Travels*, vol. II, pp. 450-461 ; R. Roolvink *et al, Historial Atlas of the Muslim People*, pl. 32).

5. p. 115. Add the following after the sentence ending with the word "Ākara" in line no. 32 :-

[The implication of Tāranātha's reference to one "Mālava in Prayāga" [Schiefner, *Tāranatha* (text), p. 190 : Schiefner, *Tāranātha* (translation), p. 251] need not be considered here, since he did not indicate the existence of any diamond mine in or near that Mālava region. D. C. Sircar is in favour of identifying this Mālava with Malwa in the Fatehpur district (D. C. Sircar, ***Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition***, p. 2). The geographical locations of this and certain other areas known as Mālava in early and mediaeval periods (see *ibid.*, pp. 1-3 ; K. K. Das Gupta, ***The Mālavas***, pp. 1 f ; etc.) do not suit the stipulated conditions for identification with Mālava with diamond mines so well as does Eastern Malwa or Ākara].

6. p. 116. Add the following after the sentence ending with the word "Akara" in line no. 11 :-

[In a much later period a similar allurement led the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr to take possession of the territory of Kokrah and its diamond mines [*Wāki'at-i Jahāngīrī* ; H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, ***The History of India as Told by its Own Historians***, vol. VI, Indian edition, 1969, pp. 344-346. In this connection see also A. Rodgers and H. Beveridge, ***The Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī***, vol. II, (1968), pp. 21-22].

7. p. 124 Add the following after the sentence ending with the word "evidence" in line no. 30 :—

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Nevertheless, as the major part of the stipulated period is covered by the 1st century A. D., the work as a whole may be roughly ascribed to that century.

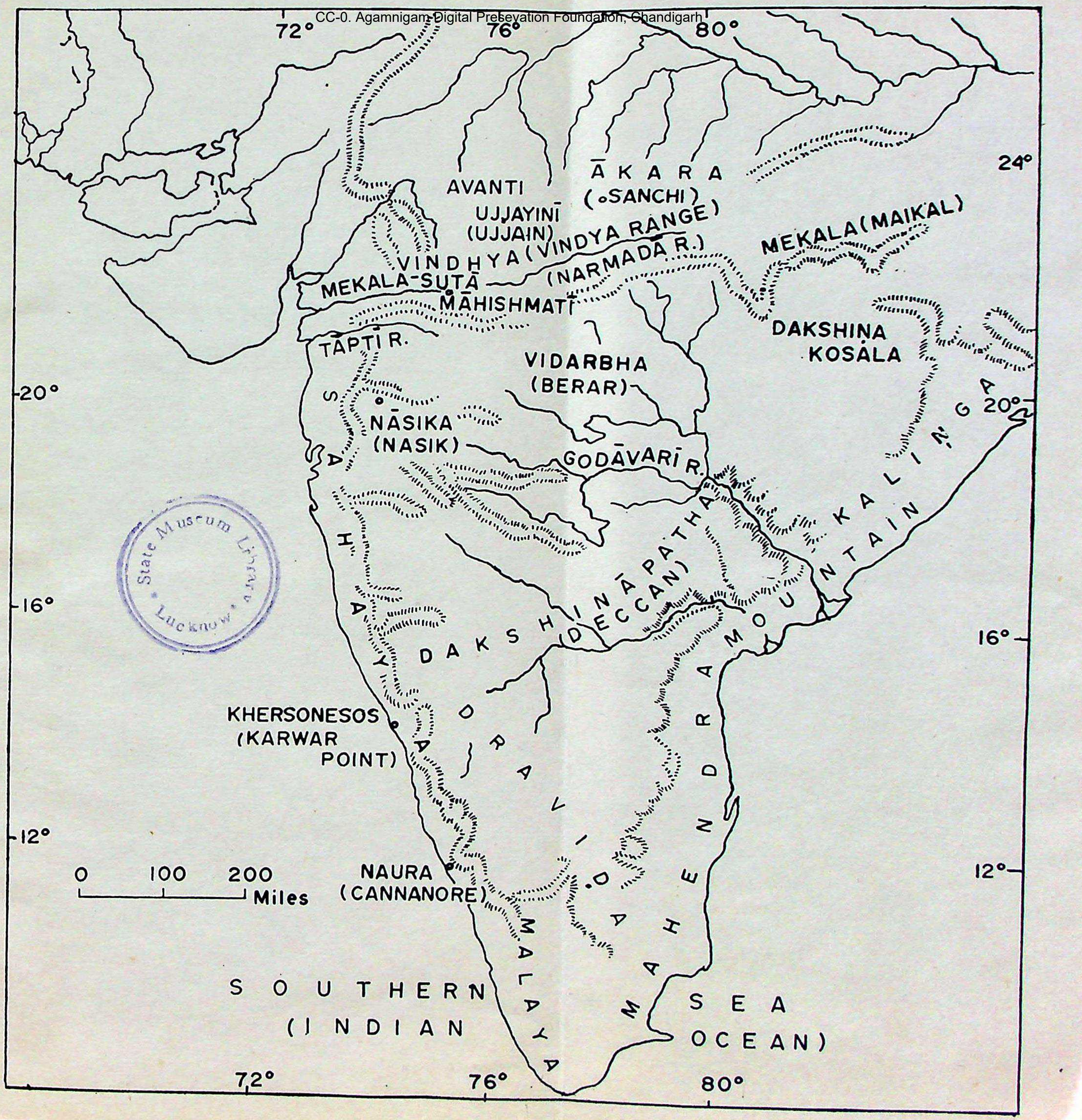
CORRIGENDA

Page no.	Line no.	In Place of	Read
8	29	espicially	especially
8	31	accross	across
14	32	*Fo-Kuo chi*	*Fo-kuo chi*
31	8	sub-continent	subcontinent
31	11	Kushāṇa[68]	Kushāṇa[68] (Chapter IV).
32	23	*Hātakaṇi*,[77]	*Hātakaṇi*,[76]
32	25	(i.e. Sopara).[76]	(i.e. Sopara).[77]
35	27	with either	either with
37	18	'the eastern region'	'the Eastern region'
40	23	contignous	contiguous
40	30	aud	and
42	8-10	(the lines printed originally)	(the lines printed on pasted paper)
45	11	*Saṁyukta-ratnapiṭaka-sūtra*	*Saṁyukta-ratna-piṭaka-sūtra*
49	2	Knmāralāta	Kumāralāta
53	2	sec. D and E, in the press	sec. D and E
55	6	Cunnin ham's	Cunningham's
56	4	manusaripts	manuscripts
56	15	*Iruhaṇas*	*Iruhaṇasa* (or *Arahaṇasa ?*)
57	13	placesbaithano	places Baithano
57	21	may be	may perhaps be
57	22	>*Arika* > *Arikha*	>*Arika* (?) > *Arikha* (?)

Page no.	Line no.	In Place of	Read
58	12	emendment	amendment
58	21	*Lymirike*	*Limyrike*
59	8	prcss	press
59	29	*Manusaṁhitā*	*Manu-saṁhitā*
62	17-20	(the lines printed originally)	(the lines printed on pasted paper)
65	22	cloths	clothes
66	6	kanishka	Kanishka
66	22	*Mujmmalu-t Tawārīkh*	*Mnjmalu-t Tawārīkh*
68	25	Purushwar	Purushawar
69	24	mnch	much
70	32	eariy	early
73	23	Parichāta	Pärichāta
75	23	Yen-Kao-chen	Yen-kao-chen
78	12	Boddhisattva	Bodhisattva
79	14	*Tsin tai pi shu*	*Ts'in tai pi shu*
80	6	*Ts' in tai pi shu*	*Ts'in tai pi shu*
80	15	Tcha´ng-ngan	Tch'a´ng-ngan
80	33	*Kia-ni-sö kia*	*Kia-ni-sö-kia*
82	14	*Halo*	*Hālo*
83	14	*Tahqīq-i·Hind*	*Taḥqīq-i-Hind*
84	17	*Anabasios*	*Anabaseos*
84	35-36	*Insti—*	*Institute*
87	28	referrable	referable
88	36	*Kathika,*	*Kathika*
90	34	Valabhi	Valabhī
96	27	Iṭangavaḍigat	Iḷangavaḍigaḷ
101	1	Tapti	Tāptī
102	13	correetly	correctly
102	32	Pulumāvi	Puḷumāvi

Page no.	Line no.	In Place of	Read
104	page-heading	KUSHĀNAS	KUSHĀṆAS
111	32	E. J, Rapson	E. J. Rapson
113	36	Periplus	*Periplus*
115	3	Inian	Indian
121	11	Kulula	Kujula
133	12	Al-Tabarī	Al-Ṭabarī
136	18	Götebarg	Göteborg
139	7	*Thallasses*	*Thalasses*

State Museum Library * Lucknow *


72°
76°
80°
24°
20°
16°
12°
AVANTI
ĀKARA
(SANCHI)
UJJAYINĪ
(UJJAIN)
VINDHYA (VINDYA RANGE)
(NARMADĀ R.)
MEKALA (MAIKAL)
MEKALA-SUTĀ
MĀHISHMATĪ
TĀPTĪ R.
DAKSHINA
KOSALA
VIDARBHA
(BERAR)
NĀSIKA
(NASIK)
GODĀVARĪ R.
SAHYA
KALINGA
DAKSHINĀPATHA
(DECCAN)
MOUNTAIN
DAKSHINA
DRAVIDA
MAHENDRA
KHERSONESOS
(KARWAR
POINT)
NAURA
(CANNANORE)
0 100 200
Miles
MALAYA
SOUTHERN
(INDIAN
SEA
OCEAN)

State Museum Library
* Lucknow *

ÞΑΟΝΑΝΟÞΑΟΚΑ ΝΗÞΚΙ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ